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Seeing is Behaving:

***Frau Welt* and the *Fürst der Welt*,**

Art and Moral Messages in the Rhineland ca. 1300

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by

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Frau Welt (Lady World) was a popular German allegory in the Middle Ages, which warned against the false nature of worldly things and desires through a uniquely deceptive appearance: her attractive front side concealed a horrid backside covered with toads, snakes, and worms. While the allegory remains uncommon in visual art, her male counterpart with a similar iconography and warning, the *Fürst der Welt* (Prince of the World), survives in several sculptural examples. The two allegories, however, appear in very different contexts. While the Frau Welt allegory appears frequently in courtly literature and Minnesongs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it only appears once in monumental sculptural form, at Worms cathedral. Here the allegory appears with three other female personifications: Synagogue, Charity, and Faith. Surviving only in visual form, the Fürst der Welt appears often with the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The best-known and earliest example of the Fürst der Welt stands on the west facade of Strasbourg cathedral.

While previous scholarship has noted the similar iconographies of the two allegories, this dissertation will aim to contextualize the figures beyond iconography by posing larger, overarching questions: Why do these figures appear mainly nestled on cathedral facades along the Rhineland? And why is their popularity confined to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries? I address these questions of geographic and temporal exclusivity by considering this artistic phenomenon against a changing theological and cultural backdrop.

I argue that the appearance of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt allegories in visual form is part of a growing interest in medieval society in visuality and moralizing themes. The Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures take these interests further through their "foolproof" iconography, which calls attention to their divided and deceptive nature. In short, the moral transparency of the sculptural representations of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories takes the emerging interest in visuality to the extreme and makes it possible for the viewer to grasp the basic moral message or meaning without any prior conditioning to the allegories or their stories.

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INTRODUCTION

One day Mamma said "Conrad dear,
I must go out and leave you here.
But mind now, Conrad, what I say,
Don't suck your thumb while I'm away.
The great tall tailor always comes
To little boys who suck their thumbs;
And ere they dream what he's about,
He takes his great sharp scissors out,
And cuts their thumbs clean off—and then,
You know, they never grow again."[1]

So goes *The Story of Little Suck-a-Thumb*, a nineteenth-century children's cautionary tale by Heinrich Hoffmann (Figures 1-2). This story, as well as the others in *Struwwelpeter: Merry Stories and Funny Pictures* and their accompanying illustrations, display clear moral messages that illuminate the consequences of disobedient behavior in an exaggerated yet lucid manner. However comical these stories and illustrations are to modern readers or were to the original youthful audience, laced between the graphic images and rhyming text are moralizing messages that are to be taken seriously.

I recall this nineteenth-century tale to highlight how moralizing messages and themes could be interwoven creatively into text and image and consequently stick in the minds of listeners and readers from any era. Despite the evolution of characters, dialogues, and plots, the messages of many moralizing tales have transcended time and geography. One of these, in particular, that warning against excessive materiality and worldliness, is a central theme of this dissertation.

[1] Heinrich Hoffmann, *Struwwelpeter: Merry Stories and Funny Pictures* (1848), Project Gutenberg, April 23, 2004, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12116/12116-h/12116-h.htm (accessed September 10, 2013).

The subject of this dissertation, the sculptures of *Frau Welt* (Lady World) and the *Fürst der Welt* (Prince of the World), are not entirely different from Hoffmann's stories despite being separated from them by over five hundred years (Figures 3-16). Much like Hoffmann, the authors and artists of the allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt developed catchy texts and imagery in order to emphasize the moral message – the deception and ephemerality of the world – of these allegories and make them memorable; these figures appeared as attractive and beautiful from the front, but from behind worms, snakes, and toads feasted on their rotting and exposed flesh.

Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt were medieval allegories of the world that enjoyed brief but meaningful popularity in select regions.[2] In an era when wealth and material possessions were proliferating at a rapid pace, both in the public and private spheres, these allegories reminded people of the evil and deceptive nature of the world, worldliness, and materiality. The desire to rid oneself of the world is peppered throughout the New Testament, but somehow that message became diluted in the prosperity of the High Middle Ages.

From the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, Europe experienced an unprecedented population expansion, which in turn resulted in a rapid increase in density of cities and rural areas. In order to meet the demands of a growing citizenry, new agricultural technologies were developed that allowed for the increased production of food. Commercial and economic development soon followed as merchants, guilds, and

[2] The terms Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt are ones bestowed upon the sculptures by modern scholars. There are no medieval descriptions of the sculptures that would allude to their original titles or names, and, as we will see with the Frau Welt sculpture at Worms cathedral, this has led to many misidentifications throughout the years. This issue will be discussed later in the Introduction and in Chapters One and Two.

tradesmen broadened their consumer base. As a result of these changes, medieval society became increasingly wealthy. The Church, which was not immune to this wealth, sought reform and attempted to shift societal focus from the materiality of the world back to spirituality through a series of formal mandates and informal efforts. Literature, sermons, and art all became vehicles to convey anti-world messages.

Preaching, both in the Church and on the streets, was now often laden with anti-world themes, and new regulations on confession and penitence sought to steer the people from worldliness and materialism. These new warnings also began to appear in secular, courtly literature and poems, which often featured a courtly knight abandoning his worldly life in favor of a religious one. But perhaps the greatest anti-world message came from images, in particular those found in large scale and on church facades.

The sculptures of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories appear in a handful of sculpted portal programs on German churches in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[3] The wide and diverse audiences that would bear witness to these magnificent sculptures as they entered or passed by a church would be able to grasp the basic anti-world moral message of these figures without any prior conditioning, since their iconography quite directly relays the message. The sculptures of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories share a similar iconography; from the front each appears youthful and attractive, clad in the finest courtly attire, but on their backsides loathsome animals – snakes, lizards, and toads – devour and crawl on their (sometimes) decaying

[3] I employ "German" and "Germany" in this study not as modern political terms, but rather in reference to the collective German-speaking regions in the Middle Ages including modern Germany and Austria, as well as parts of France and Switzerland.

flesh. This standardized iconography speaks to the deceptive nature of the world as it was conceived in the Middle Ages: the world can be alluring and beautiful at first, but its core is rotten and ephemeral. In other words, the message was to embrace a world-renouncing way of life in favor of God. This moralizing message would have been amplified by the other figures and sculptures that immediately surrounded these allegories on portals. The gist of the message would have been intelligible to the average, uninformed onlooker immediately through the clear iconography.

Despite the straightforward nature of these figures and their understandability, and thus potential mass appeal, only seven sculptures survive. Of the group of seven, interestingly, only one of the sculptures represents Frau Welt, although she appears in a handful of courtly poems (Figures 3-4). This sculpture, from around 1300-1310, stands on the south portal of Worms cathedral, accompanied by sculpted personifications of Charity, Faith, and Synagoga.[4] The remaining six sculptures central to this study represent the Fürst der Welt. Figures of this allegory appear at Strasbourg cathedral, Freiburg minster, Basel cathedral, St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg, Haus Heuport (a private residence) in Regensburg, and the Carmelite cloister in Bamberg (Figures 5-16). With the exception of the sculptures at Regensburg and Bamberg, the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt appear in larger sculptural programs of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, a parable about preparedness for entry into heaven that is recounted in Matthew 25: 1-13. In this context, the Fürst der Welt appears as a negative counterpart to Christ, yet interestingly

[4] Throughout this study I will refer to buildings by their medieval status. For example, Worms cathedral was demoted to a parish church in 1805, although it was originally built as a cathedral in 614. Similarly, the Freiburg minster was elevated to a cathedral in 1827. Basel cathedral became part of the Swiss Reformed Church in 1529 and thus is no longer the seat of a bishop.

he does not appear in the biblical text, thus making his inclusion in sculptural programs of the parable unusual and a central question in my study.

As successful as the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt were in speaking a legible cultural language to the people that encountered them on a regular basis, they were not durable. The sculpted form of these allegories endured for only a few decades beginning in the late 1270s and disappeared completely by the mid-fourteenth century. Similarly, the figures are concentrated first in cities along the Upper Rhine, where they form the only major ecclesiastical building projects in the region at this time (Figure 17).[5] The sculptures only later start to appear in Bavaria, around the third decade of the fourteenth century.[6] These allegories in sculptural form were unable to penetrate temporal and geographic boundaries.

This dissertation takes the temporal and geographic constraints and constrictions of these sculptures as its subject: Why did sculptures of these allegories appear only during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries? What caused them to wax? And what caused them to wane? And why do these figures appear first and most dramatically on church facades along the Upper Rhine and then later in Bavaria? I plan to address these questions of geographic and temporal exclusivity by examining this artistic

[5] The Rhine river runs from the southeastern Swiss Alps to the North Sea and comprises four major sections: High Rhine, Upper Rhine, Middle Rhine, and Lower Rhine. The Upper Rhine encompasses the area between Basel in the south and Bingen in the north, and is flanked by the Vosges Mountains on the west and the Black Forest on the east. The Alsace region in France and portions of the states of Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden-Württemberg, and Hesse in Germany geographically make up the Upper Rhine. The sites of four of the earliest sculptures central to this study – Strasbourg, Freiburg, Basel, and Worms – are situated along the Upper Rhine.

[6] Of the three later sculptures of the Fürst der Welt, two (the sculptures in Nuremberg and Bamberg) are located in Franconia and the other (the sculpture in Regensburg) in Upper Palatinate. Both Franconia and Upper Palatinate are regions in Bavaria.

phenomenon against a changing theological and cultural backdrop. I will ask how religion affects the course of art history and how the power of religious ideas sets the program for how to look at these figures.

Through a critical analysis of medieval religion, history, and culture, I will argue that these allegorical sculptures first surfaced during a period and in a region that embraced images that were legible to a wide, diverse audience, and above all, were moralizing in tone. This new embrace of images serving moralizing purposes – distinguishing right from wrong and good from bad – on a large scale and with a wide-ranging audience in mind results from various medieval religious beliefs and practices. I will argue that medieval society's new and intense interest in visuality (making subjects or themes visible or tangible that were otherwise confined to text or imagination) and moralizing themes, together with the changing nature of portal programs on church facades, all fuelled by changing religious beliefs of the time, allowed these allegories to take visual form and proliferate. While these interests and concerns were often pan-European, they were felt particularly fervently along the Upper Rhine, where these figures first appear. The factors resulting in their wane, however, are not as easily explained, and I offer mere theories as to their fall from favor.

The primary aim of this study is to consider the geographic and temporal exclusivity of these allegorical figures in visual form as understood through a medieval theological lens. This study does not aim to be a complete and exhaustive study of the Churches or portal programs on which these figures appear. Some of that work, as will be apparent in the next subsection, has been done by other scholars. Nor is this a study of

the chronology of the seven allegorical sculptures, as that has been the source of ongoing discussion and no end seems to be in sight. This dissertation aims to contextualize the figures in the broader religious and artistic thought of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. It asks: what led to the rise and fall of these figures in a specific period and in two specific regions? These questions challenge assumptions that have left previous scholars satisfied.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The graphic and unique iconographies of the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt have long caught the eye of observers. The earliest account of the Frau Welt sculpture dates to as early as 1555 when Georg Witzel, a German theologian, wrote:

> The second lady, smiling and with a swollen stomach, holds a shield that she has gripped with her right hand…on her backside however one sees detestable deformities, for it is full of hate-worthy snakes and toads.[7]

Frau Welt and her accompanying three sculpted personifications also caught the eye of Johannes Wolfius, a jurist, in 1600:

> Ancient mystical figures
> in Worms, in the church, that one calls a cathedral,
> one finds next to the other magnificent monuments these four figures carved into stone (that without a doubt are a wonderful mystery).[8]

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[7] The English translation is my own. "Secunda huic vicina mulier subridens aspicitur ac utero tumescente quae dextra manu clypeum praehensum tenet...verum a tergo videas abominandam deformitatem, omnia videlicet inuisis colubris bufonibusque plena." Sebastian Scholz, "Quellen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*, ed. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Rheinland-Pfalz (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 147.

[8] The English translation is my own.
"Figurae antiqvae mysticae
Wormatiae, in templo, qvod cathedrale vocant,
reperiuntur inter alia magnifica monumenta etiam hae qvatuor figurae (qvae admirandis procul dubio mysteriis non carent)." Scholz, "Quellen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms,* 150.

And in 1734, Johann Friedrich Schannat, a German historian, wrote in *Historia Episcopatus Wormatiensis*:

> We believe that the first [sculpture] is the Holy Virgin; the second is Christian Faith; the third is Heathenism; the fourth is Judaism and the fifth is False Faith.[9]

One of the earliest mentions of a sculpture of the Fürst der Welt dates to the eighteenth century. In 1743, François-Joseph Böhm described the sculpture at Strasbourg cathedral as the bridegroom of the Foolish Virgins: "The bridegroom with the five Wise on the right, the bride [*sic*] with the five Foolish on the left."[10] Over a century later, this identification was modified by Ernst Meyer-Altona, who called the statue the *Verführer*, or Tempter, and identified the figure of Christ as a prophet.[11] While his identification of the sculpture of Christ as a prophet did not stick with scholars, that of the *Verfürher* did. The sculptures of the Fürst der Welt have been variously referred to by scholars in different languages as the Tempter, the Seducer, and Prince of the World. In essence,

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[9] The English translation is my own. "Nos priore Beatam Virginem; altera Religionem Christianam, tertia Gentilitatem, quarta Judaismum, ac denique quinta falsam Religionem designari existimamus." Scholz, "Quellen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*, 153. The first sculpture that Schannat references may be the sculpture of the Virgin and Child on the exterior of the Nikolauskapelle at Worms cathedral. It is not clear whether Schannat interprets the sculpture of Frau Welt to be Heathenism or False Faith.

[10] The English translation is my own. "L'Epoux avec les cinq Sages à la droite, l'Epoufe [*sic*] avec les cinq Folles à la gauche." François-Joseph Böhm, *Description nouvelle de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et de sa fameuse tou* (1743), 34-35, http://books.google.com/books?id=zva4ra8yg9sC&dq=inauthor%3A%22Fran%C3%A7ois-Joseph%20B%C3%B6hm%22&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed August 22, 2014).

[11] Ernst Meyer-Altona, *Die älteren Skulpturen bis 1789*, vol. 1, *Die Skulpturen des Straßburger Münsters*. (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1894), 37, http://books.google.com/books?id=M6IaAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA6&lpg=PA6&dq=Ernst+Meyer-Altona,+Die+Skulpturen+des+Straßburger+Münsters.++Die+älteren+Skulpturen+bis+1789&source=bl&ots=setOzoAPB6&sig=umDCdQh-Mdw69qFf20EypBBLfU8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=aW8TVKjxMKz28QHOwoHQCQ&ved=0CEQQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=Ernst%20Meyer-Altona%2C%20Die%20Skulpturen%20des%20Straßburger%20Münsters.%20%20Die%20älteren%20Skulpturen%20bis%201789&f=false (accessed September 12, 2014).

they all mean the same thing, and for this study I will use Fürst der Welt, as it is the title most commonly employed.

Despite this early interest in and observation of the figures, only beginning in the nineteenth century did they begin to receive scholarly treatment and only then was it formal and iconographic in nature. While these approaches are important and will form a solid base for this dissertation, my questions will center on the socio-religious context of the objects.

It is surprising that modern scholarship on the figure of Frau Welt offers little critical depth beyond its relationship to the surrounding female allegories and its role in the larger iconographic program of the south portal of Worms cathedral. While a handful of early writers referenced the Frau Welt sculpture at Worms cathedral, it was only after a series of reconstructions and restorations in the nineteenth century (1818-1825, 1830-1832, 1834, 1858, and 1892) that Worms cathedral and its south portal emerged in art historical and architectural scholarship.[12]

Although much of this early scholarship focused on form and style, it marked the first serious interest in Worms cathedral from an art historical and architectural perspective and would serve as the foundation for more critical and analytical scholarship. Important for this study is the discourse between Wilhelm Wackernagel and Friedrich Schneider concerning the identification of the Frau Welt sculpture.[13]

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[12] For more on the history of the reconstruction and restoration of Worms cathedral, see Eduard Sebald, "Historische Restaurierungen: Quellen und Befunde," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*, 86-90.

[13] Wilhelm Wackernagel, "Der Welt Lohn," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 6 (1848): 151-155; Friedrich Schneider, "Die allegorischen Sculpturen am Südportale des Wormser Domes," *Anzeiger für Kunde der*

Wackernagel was the first to interpret the sculpture as Frau Welt (or *Weltminne* or Worldly Love) because of its resemblance to similar figures in medieval literature, while Schneider, the first to offer an alternative to Wackernagel's interpretation, thought the sculpture represented Heretical Church. D. Günther's article, "Die vier allegorischen Figuren am Südportal des Wormser Doms," published in 1920, revisits this dialogue and identifies the Frau Welt sculpture as Luxuria, an allegory of luxury and lust and one of the seven deadly sins, since, as he believed, the four female allegorical figures represented two virtues and their corresponding vices (Charity, Faith, Luxuria, and Idolatry).[14]

Reinhard Bleck has since refuted Günther's findings, in his article entitled "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen am Südportal des Wormser Doms," in which he identifies the four female allegorical figures as Charity, Faith, Synagoga, and Frau Welt.[15] But Bleck underscores the fluidity of the terms Synagoga and Frau Welt: Synagoga could also be understood as Judaism, Idolatry, or Faithlessness, and Frau Welt as *Weltminne* or *Weltliebe* (Worldly Love).[16] Regardless of this flexibility, Bleck's identifications allow the allegories to be read in oppositional terms: "Worldly Love in the

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deutschen Vorzeit 17 (1870): 152-155; Friedrich Schneider, "Zur Symbolik der Wormser Portalfiguren," *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumvereine* 23 (1875): 30.

[14] D. Günther, "Die vier allegorischen Figuren am Südportal des Wormser Doms," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 33 (1920): 13.

[15] Reinhard Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen am Südportal des Wormser Doms," *Der Wormsgau* 14 (1982-1986): 113-125.

[16] Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen," 117-120. While I am in agreement with Bleck's identifications, our terminology does not line up exactly. I will employ the term Synagoga, since similar images of Synagoga have been identified in this region and time period. Likewise, I will refer to our primary subject as Frau Welt, since, as we will see in Chapter One, this figure matches up quite well with her medieval literary counterpart.

theological sense is the direct negation of Charity, as Infidelity is of Faith."[17] The four female allegories and the south portal on which they reside have been discussed most recently in 1999, in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*, a compilation of several essays on the history and most recent restoration (1991-1993) of the south portal of Worms cathedral.[18] While this book emphasizes the technical, it is the first book devoted entirely to the iconographic program of the south portal as a whole.

The first study of the Frau Welt allegory – considering this phenomenon as a whole in both art and literature – appeared in August Closs's *Weltlohn, Teufelsbeichte, Waldbruder*, published in 1934.[19] In his first chapter, Closs examines the Frau Welt allegory and its origins before providing a translation of "Weltlon," a fifteenth-century poem that featured Frau Welt.[20] Closs finds that the Church supported the Frau Welt allegory in order to disseminate warnings against the earthly world, while promoting the goodness of the spiritual world.[21] He understands the localization of the allegory to parts of Germany as simply a regional preference for moroseness.[22] The Frau Welt allegory was more thoroughly addressed by Wolfgang Stammler in *Frau Welt: Eine mittelalterliche Allegorie,* published in 1959.[23] In his study, Stammler examines perceptions of the world in antiquity and the Middle Ages and the tension that existed

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[17] The English translation is my own. "Weltminne ist im theologischen Sinn die direkte Negation von Caritas, wie Infidelitas die von Fides." Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen," 124.
[18] See note 6 above.
[19] August Closs, *Weltlohn, Teufelsbeichte, Waldbruder* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1934).
[20] "Weltlon" is not to be confused with "Der Welt Lohn" by Konrad von Würzburg, another poem that features Frau Welt.
[21] Closs, 17.
[22] Closs, 6.
[23] Wolfgang Stammler, *Frau Welt: Eine mittelalterliche Allegorie* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1959).

between the body and soul in order to understand Frau Welt's (and the Fürst der Welt's to a lesser extent) emergence.

Just over twenty years later, in 1981, Solveig Eggerz-Brownfeld discussed the Frau Welt allegory in her dissertation entitled "Anti-Feminist Satire in German and English Literature of the late Middle Ages."[24] Although only a portion of her dissertation is dedicated to Frau Welt, Eggerz-Brownfeld attempts to understand the allegory as an anti-feminist symbol of the sociological circumstances of the time, rather than the byproduct of the tension between worldly desires and spiritual aims. Berthold Hinz's article, "Venus-Luxuria-Frau Welt: Vom Wunschbild zum Albtraum zur Allegorie," published in 2003, explores further the idea of anti-feminism and the Frau Welt allegory and argues for Frau Welt's linear descent from Venus and Luxuria.[25] Understanding Frau Welt through such a lens, Hinz contends that the image of Frau Welt was meant not to horrify but rather to inspire and offer insight.

Unlike the situation with Frau Welt, there has been little debate surrounding the identity of the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt. Scholarship concerning this figure has been limited to brief mentions in treatments of sculpted portal programs, as the allegory survives mainly in that form. Most of this scholarship focuses on form, style, and iconography; it does not address the origin, nature, or religious context of the allegory. The sculptures at Strasbourg, Basel, Freiburg, and Nuremberg have received the most extensive scholarly treatment since the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt all appear (or

[24] Solveig Eggerz-Brownfeld, "Anti-Feminist Satire in German and English Literature of the Late Middle Ages (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1981), 65-73.
[25] Berthold Hinz, "Venus-Luxuria-Frau Welt: Vom Wunschbild zum Albtraum zur Allegorie," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 54 (2003): 83-104.

once appeared, as is the case at Basel and Nuremberg) in expansive portal programs. This scholarship will be discussed in Chapter Two in my examination of each portal. The examples in Regensburg and Bamberg are much smaller in scale, appear isolated, and are located, respectively, in a private and monastic setting. For this reason, these examples have often been ignored or mentioned only in passing. Many of the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt almost always appear in passing in Frau Welt scholarship. At most the scholars mention that the Fürst der Welt is the male counterpart to Frau Welt and list where he appears in sculptural form.

Despite the lack of any study dedicated to the Fürst der Welt allegory as a whole, there have been substantial studies that focus on the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in visual form.[26] Walter Lehmann's 1916 dissertation first addressed the theme and would serve as the foundation on which the subsequent studies would build.[27] His work is significant because it amasses a corpus of visual examples of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and showcases its variety in form, composition, context, and media.

Lehmann's survey is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive, a failing for which he takes full responsibility. He begins by examining early Christian examples of the theme in both the West and East and concludes with late medieval examples. Although

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[26] The allegorical reading of the Wise and Foolish Virgins as symbols of the Last Judgment has often been mentioned by art historians in larger discussions of sculptured portal programs. See, for example, Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order,* 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 114; Émile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. D. Nussey (New York: Harper & Row, Icon Editions, 1972), 198; Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), 30.

[27] Walter Lehmann, "Die Parable von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen" (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg, 1916).

selective, his examples of visual representations of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins are sufficient to draw some general conclusions. He rightly notes that the earliest images of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in catacombs in Rome appear with torches and that later the lamps would come to replace them. Furthermore, he observes that most of the Western examples of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in manuscript and wall painting come from Italy and Germany and date before 1300. Glossing over the painted examples, he devotes most of his time to sculptural works and argues that the earliest examples of these appear on Romanesque portals in France in small scale, mainly in the archivolts. Lehmann finds that theme was then transferred onto Gothic sculpted portal programs on the Île-de-France and only made its way to German-speaking lands by 1180 at Basel cathedral, at which point the theme flourished across Germany. He says it was at Strasbourg cathedral in the last quarter of the thirteenth century that the century-old theme underwent a transformation with the emergence of the Fürst der Welt. Lehmann only mentions the Fürst der Welt at Strasbourg and at Freiburg, and he calls him the *Versucher*, the Tempter. He finds at Strasbourg that the Fürst der Welt has already lured one Foolish Virgin into his world, as she wears a wide grin and lets her lamp lie idle at her feet.[28] Lehmann's study, at its best, starts the dialogue concerning this theme in visual art by presenting a corpus of examples, although he concludes very

[28] Lehmann, 45.

little. A few years after Lehmann's study, Hildegart Heyne completed her dissertation on early Christian visual and textual examples of the parable.[29]

Regine Körkel-Hinkfoth has done the most significant and recent work on the subject in her 1994 dissertation-turned-book entitled *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen (Mt. 25, 1-13) in der bildenden Kunst und im geistlichen Schauspiel*.[30] This six hundred-page dissertation is an exhaustive survey of every known visual representation of the parable from the fourth century through the end of the sixteenth century. The 175-page text of the dissertation is followed by an over 300-page catalogue of all known examples. Organized by medium and country of origin, each catalogue entry provides a description of the work and its iconography and a bibliography.

In her description of the iconography of the parable, Körkel-Hinkfoth discusses the Fürst der Welt only briefly. She understands him as the "partner of the Foolish Virgins and as the counterpart to Christ."[31] She further notes that *a* Fürst der Welt, who is devilish in nature, appears in the Bible, and that the sculpted Fürst der Welt represents both the devil and tempter of the Foolish Virgins, as well as Christ's opponent.[32] She does not elaborate on the relationship between the biblical Fürst der Welt and the sculptural Fürst der Welt. Rather, she links the sculptures with contemporary poems

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[29] Hildegard Heyne, "Das Gleichnis von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen: Eine literarische-ikonographische Studie zur altchristlichen Zeit" (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, 1922).
[30] Regine Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen (Mt. 25, 1-13) in der bildenden Kunst und im geistlichen Schauspiel* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994).
[31] The English translation is my own. "Partner der törichten Jungfrauen und als Gegenpart zu Christ." Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 78.
[32] These biblical references appear in John 12:31, 14:30, and 16:11 and will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

featuring Frau Welt and finds this literature a source of iconographic inspiration. Concluding her brief discussion of the Fürst der Welt, Körkel-Hinkfoth voices two concerns central to this study: the obvious iconography of the Fürst der Welt and the short lifespan of the allegory. She writes:

> As striking as this representation [of the Fürst der Welt] is and as obviously as it alludes to a particular vice (here the Foolish Virgins are reproached for their foolishness and joys in the world), it is surprising that it is not more widespread.[33]

Körkel-Hinkfoth offers an important contribution to the study of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins by considering mystery plays of the same theme. She finds that prior to the emergence of the play there was little variety in the visual representation of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, but upon the emergence of the play one begins to see new adaptations of the parable theatrically and subsequently in art. More recently, Jacqueline Jung has discussed the Wise and Foolish Virgins at Magdeburg cathedral in a new light, suggesting their active role in conveying a narrative and message in relation to mystery plays.[34]

New light was cast upon on the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in art in the dissertation of Pamela Elizabeth Loos-Noji, which sought to understand the Wise and Foolish as beyond simple types for the Saved and Damned at the Last Judgment.[35] In

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[33] The English translation is my own. "So markant diese Darstellung ist und so augenfällig sie auf ein bestimmtes Laster (hier wird den törichten Jungfrauen ihr Leichtsinn und ihre Weltfreude vorgeworfen) hinweist, wundert es, daß sie keine weitere Verbreitung gefunden hat." Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 79.

[34] Jacqueline Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral," in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter,* ed. Kristin Marek et al. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), 135-160.

[35] Pamela Elizabeth Loos-Noji, "The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Twelfth-Century Art: Alternative Approaches to Visual Imagery" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1996).

doing so, she examined three examples of the motif – those at Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, Saint-Denis, and Aulnay – where, based on the immediate surrounding and context, the motif of the Wise and Foolish Virgins functioned beyond symbols for the Last Judgment.

Aside from these studies of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, there has been little attempt to understand the theme as a whole in visual culture. Most often, images of the Wise and Foolish Virgins are treated in isolation and as separate from the context in which they appear, and, more importantly, as apart from broader religious and cultural concerns. In these studies, the inclusion of the Fürst der Welt has been treated as nothing but a mere fitting addition.

METHODOLOGY

As the allegories of Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt traditionally have been treated in isolation from one another, one might then ask what benefit would arise from treating them together, as is the intention of this study. As will be outlined below, I plan to dedicate a chapter to each allegory and discuss thoroughly its appearances in visual and textual form. It will be necessary to do this in order to gauge how the two allegories shared a similar message and iconography but different contexts, and how all of this speaks to larger encompassing issues pervading medieval Europe.

Since there is such a paucity of contemporary sources, the images themselves will guide my methodological approach through this dissertation. I will consider the corpus of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt images as visual testaments to growing moral concerns in medieval society, particularly along the Upper Rhine. Although no commission records remain for these objects that could potentially state the reasons for

their production, I will consider the context and environment from which these objects emerged in order to examine their function and role in society at large. For this, I will turn to contemporary sermons, confessional literature, and other religious and courtly texts to help highlight the concerns that plagued the medieval society that brought the allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt into existence. The purpose of this dissertation is to understand these allegorical sculptures beyond the immediate sculptural context in which they appear and to situate them in a contemporary religious and cultural context.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

This dissertation comprises four chapters. Chapter One introduces the Frau Welt allegory, as this allegory has textual roots that predate any of the Fürst der Welt sculptures. I will examine the texts that feature Frau Welt, as well as the sculpture at Worms cathedral and other visual examples and discuss the function that this allegory served in each specific context and how this figure fit in more broadly with other negative female allegories across medieval Europe. The Fürst der Welt is the focus of Chapter Two. In this chapter I will consider the six extant sculptures of this allegory. A particular emphasis will be placed upon the earliest and most dramatic sculptural examples at Strasbourg, Basel, and Freiburg. In addition to considering the sculptures, I will address the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and related exegetical texts.

Chapters Three and Four will veer from the sculptures as the subject matter to broader cultural, religious, and artistic issues of the time to see how the allegories fit into larger contemporary concerns. As I will show in Chapter Three, religious thinking across

the broad spectrum of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was marked by an increasing concern for moral dilemmas and anti-world rhetoric. I will, however, demonstrate that, while this concern was ubiquitous, it was felt particularly strongly along the Upper Rhine. Chapter Four builds on the third chapter and demonstrates how these new religious concerns manifested themselves visually in the arts. Here I put forth the argument that the moralizing themes that were peddled fervently by theologians along the Upper Rhine increasingly took visual form as moralizing statements. And more often than not these statements were easily legible and tailored for a broad audience.

My conclusion will consider briefly the waning of the allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt in visual form after the mid-fourteenth century. I will also explore their legacies, as there are several post-medieval counterparts that retain many of the core characteristics that once defined them.

I believe the questions and answers developed in this dissertation are important for art historical purposes, but also for medieval studies as a whole, since they contribute to the understanding of how theology informed art and art informed the people. Widening the study of these very specific and regional allegories into a larger discourse on changing thought in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries questions assumptions that past scholarship has been content with and repositions the figures as core players in a larger attack on the world and a response to moral dilemmas in the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER ONE
FRAU WELT: "THERE WAS NEVER A LOVELIER WOMAN BEHELD ON EARTH"[1]

Although the sole surviving sculpture of Frau Welt at Worms cathedral dates to around 1300-1310, the allegory had appeared in courtly literature nearly one hundred years earlier. As the older of the two allegories central to this study, I will discuss Frau Welt first. This chapter will consider the textual examples of the Frau Welt allegory, the sculpture at Worms cathedral, and later examples in works on paper.

MEDIEVAL ALLEGORY

Before delving into the particulars of Frau Welt (and the Fürst der Welt in Chapter Two), the very nature of the figure needs to be addressed. What was allegory in the Middle Ages? How was it developed and how did contemporary audiences understand it?

According to *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, allegory "indicates a narrative whose elements mean something other than what the narrative obviously narrates, and the narrative encourages interpretation in order to uncover what that other may be."[2] This definition, designed to consider medieval thought, remains true to modern times. As a technique used to ornament and amplify something ordinary into something with extraordinary meaning, authors of nearly every genre and period have recognized the full potential of allegory.

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[1] This line is taken from Konrad von Wüzburg's poem "Der Werlte Lôn." Francis G. Gentry, *German Medieval Tales* (New York: Continum, 1983), 115.

[2] *The Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), s.v. "allegory."

While modern scholars have long differentiated personification from metaphors from similes and so on, the definition of allegory was much more simplistic in the Middle Ages. However, that is not to diminish the highly complex and considered nature of allegory in the Middle Ages or the figures in this study. Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt were never referred to as allegories (or personifications) in the Middle Ages; that term only appears in the nineteenth century, but we can be certain that they were understood in such terms contemporaneously, as it was a common technique used to illustrate an abstract idea in concrete terms. One can easily find other allegories chiseled into stone on medieval cathedral facades: virtues and vices, the Liberal Arts, Labors of the Months, signs of the Zodiac, Acts of Charity, and the like. Similarly, allegory and personification played a central role in many medieval texts, both sacred and secular.

The ubiquitous use of allegory, not only in visual form on church facades but also in secular and religious literature, attests to the genre's presence in everyday medieval life and its likely ability to speak to even the most uneducated listener or viewer on the most basic level. Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt belong to this rich allegorical tradition in the Middle Ages, and through this technique their message became tangible and memorable.

FRAU WELT IN LITERATURE

No literary or visual representation of Frau Welt dates earlier than Walther von der Vogelweide's poem entitled "Frô Welt" from about 1225.[3] Although the Frau Welt

[3] "Frô Welt" is Middle High German for "Frau Welt." This poem is alternatively refered to as "Abschied von der Welt" ("Departure from the World"). Very little is known about Walther's life, but he seems to have been active at the court in Vienna until 1198, at which point he took his act on the road, traveling and

allegory seems to have been first recorded on parchment by Walther in the early thirteenth century, "the anthropomorphic world was certainly commonplace by the middle of the thirteenth century."[4] Thus Walther's poem may just be the earliest extant literary source for Frau Welt that has come down to us, and he may not have been the originator of the allegory. Mary Paddock has pointed out that "Walther's full personification of the world and his address of her as *Frô* [Lady] is perhaps an inevitable development, considering his demonstrated predilection for personification in his works (e.g. *Frô Minne*, *Frô Maze*, *Frô Staete*, *Frô Unfuoge*), which are all grammatically – and conveniently – feminine."[5]

In "Frô Welt," Walther engages in a conversation with Frau Welt. In the first verse Walther addresses her and announces his retirement from the world, in response to which Frau Welt tries to coax him into staying:

> Lady World, you should tell the proprietor that I have paid him in full. My great debt to him has been wiped out, so he can remove me from his ledger. Anyone who is indebted to him is worried with good reason. Before I would enter into debt with him for too long, I would rather borrow from a Jew. He is silent until a certain day, then he demands a payment, when [the borrower] cannot pay.
>
> "Walther, you are angry for no reason. You should remain here with me. Think of what honor I have offered you, what I granted you according to your wish, as

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performing for various courts until his death in 1230. It is not clear under what circumstances "Frô Welt" was composed. For more on Walther's life and works, see, for example, George F. Jones, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968); Horst Brunner et al., *Walther von der Vogelweide: Epoche, Werk, Wirkung* (Berlin: C.H. Beck, 1996).

[4] Mary Paddock, "Sight, Insight, and *Inszenierung* in Walther's 'Frô Welt,'" *Seminar-A Journal of Germanic Studies* 2 (2008): 182. For more on the anti-world tradition in medieval literature and poetry, see Manfred Kern, *Weltflucht: Poesie und Poetik der Vergänglichkeit in der weltlichen Dichtung des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009); Christian Kiening, "Contemptus Mundi in Vers und Bild am Ende des Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 123 (1994): 409-457. See also Chapter Three, 169-174.

[5] Paddock, 182.

> often as you asked. I sorely regretted that you did it so seldom. Think about it: your life is good. If you really abjure me, you will never know cheer again."[6]

The poem continues with Walther's insistence and Frau Welt's last attempt to lure him back into the world:

> Lady World, I have nursed too long. It is time I was weaned. Your tenderness has betrayed me, because of the sweet joys it gave. When I looked you in the eyes, your appearance was wondrous, without a doubt. But the shame was so great when I became aware of your backside that I must forever be contemptuous of you.
>
> "Since I cannot change your mind, do one thing that I desire: think about many a cheerful day [we had together] and look in on me once in a while. But only when you are bored." I would really love to do that, but I fear your snare, from which no one can protect himself. God grant you, Lady, good night. I wish to retire.[7]

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[6] Paddock, 177-178. The original text below is taken from Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/13Jh/Walther/wal_ge18.html#100,24 (object name Frô Welt; accessed February 21, 2010):

> "Frô Welt, ir sult dem wirte sagen,
> daz ich im gar vergolten habe,
> mîn grœste gülte ist abe geslagen,
> daz er mich von dem briefe schabe.
> swer im iht sol, der mac wol sorgen.
> ê ich im lange schuldic wære,
> ich wolt ê zeinem juden borgen.
> er swîget unz an einen tac,
> sô wil er danne ein wette hân,
> sô jener niht vergelten mac.
>
> 'Walther, dû zürnest âne nôt,
> dû solt bî mir belîben hie.
> gedenke waz ich dir êren bôt,
> waz ich dir dînes willen lie,
> als dicke dû mich sêre bæte.
> mir was vil inneclîche leit,
> daz dûz ie sô selten tæte.
> bedenke dich, dîn leben ist guot.
> sô dû mir rehte widersagest,
> sôn wirst dû niemer wol gemuot.'"

[7] Paddock, 178-179. The original text below is taken from Bibliotheca Augustana, "Frô Welt:"

> "Frô Welt, ich hân ze vil gesogen,
> ich wil entwonen, des ist zît.
> dîn zart hât mich vil nâch betrogen,
> wand er vil süezer fröiden gît.
> dô ich dich gesach reht under ougen,

From Walther's words we understand that Frau Welt is visually alluring and appealing: "When I looked you in the eyes, your appearance was wondrous, without a doubt." But from behind she is quite the opposite: "But the shame was so great when I became aware of your backside that I must forever be contemptuous of you." This dichotomy may have originated with Walther and set the stage for later authors' descriptions of her. Interestingly, from the way in which the dialogue progresses, Walther almost seems to present himself as the iconic counterpart to Frau Welt and thinks of himself as someone beyond worldliness.[8] As visually tempting as Frau Welt is, Walther recognizes her deception and no longer wants anything to do with her. Walther's retreat from worldly pleasures may reflect his changing outlook on life toward the end of his life, but it is more likely that his poem is just suggestive of a general human experience and encounters with the tempting world.

Konrad von Würzburg (ca. 1225-1287) is the next major poet to write about Frau

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dô was dîn schœne an ze schowen
wunderlîch al sunder lougen.
doch was der schanden alse vil,
dô ich dîn hinden wart gewar,
daz ich dich iemer schelten wil.

'sît ich dich niht erwenden mac,
sô tuo doch ein dinc, des ich ger:
gedenke an mangen liehten tac,
und sich doch underwîlent her,
niuwan sô dich der zit betrâge.'
daz tæte ich wunderlîchen gerne,
wan daz ich fürhte dîne lâge,
vor der sich nieman kan bewarn.
got gebe iu, frouwe, guote naht,
ich wil ze herberge varn."

[8] According to Paddock, 177-179, this poem can also be read as a religious allegory.

Welt, and interestingly Konrad was active both in Strasbourg and Basel, where two of the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt appear, and in an area where the sculpture of Frau Welt appears.[9] "Der Werlte Lôn," which dates from about 1260, several decades after Walther's poem, "tells of the temptation of Wirnt von Grafenberg, himself a poet [active ca. 1204-1210], to devote himself to '*Frau Welt* ' and his revulsion on learning her true character."[10] Konrad builds on Walther's general account of Frau Welt's dual nature and describes her in great detail. From the front she appears as the most beautiful woman in the world:

> Her beauty set her completely apart from all the ladies there are now. Indeed, a more lovely child never gilded from woman's breast. I swear by my baptism that she was far more beautiful that Venus or Pallas and all the goddesses who cultivated love before. Both her countenance and her complexion were gleaming like a mirror. Her beauty gave forth such a bright light and delightful glow that the palace itself was illuminated by her. Perfection has spared none of its craft and had used it best powers on her. Whatever one says about beautiful women, she surpassed all; there was never a lovelier woman beheld on earth. She also was attired in a great splendor. The clothes and crown this same fine lady wore upon and above her body was so glorious that truly no one could afford them, even if one would find them for sale.[11]

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[9] Much like Walther, very little is known about Konrad's life as a poet, except that he traveled to Strasbourg and eventually Basel, where he died in 1287. For more on Konrad's life and works see, for example, Helmut de Boor, "Die Chronologie der Werke Konrads von Würzburg, insbesondere die Stellung des Turniers von Nantes," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 89 (1967): 210-269; Rüdiger Brandt, *Konrad von Würzburg: Kleinere epische Werke* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2000).

[10] Albert K. Wimmer, *Anthology of Medieval German Literature* (Bristol, Indiana: Wyndham Hall Press, 1987), 375. The full poem is reproduced in Appendix I of this study. "Der Werlte Lôn" is Middle High German for "Der Welt Lohn" (or "The Reward of the World"). Konrad's poem was highly influential and versions of his story spread rapidly across Germany. For more on the dissemination of Konrad's poem, see Reinhard Bleck, *Konrad von Würzburg: Der Welt Lohn* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1991).

[11] Gentry, 115. The original text below is taken from Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/13Jh/KonradvWuerzburg/kon_welt.html (object name Der Welt Lohn; accessed February 21, 2010):

> "ir schœne volleclichen brach
> für alle frouwen die nu sint.
>
> sô rehte minneclichez kint
> von wîbes brüsten nie geslouf.

But when she turns around, Wirnt becomes aware of the creatures and putrid impurities that infest her back, and thus her true nature:

> Then she turned her back to him. On all sides it was completely adorned and hung with worms and with snakes, with toads and with vipers. Her body was full of blisters and horrible sores; flies and ants dwelled therein in great numbers and the maggots ate her flesh to the bone. She was so very foul and so abhorrent a stench came forth from her frail body that no one could stand it. Her glorious

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ich spriche daz ûf mîmen touf,
daz si noch verre schœner was
dan Vênus oder Pallas

und alle die gotinne
die wîlen phlâgen minne.
ir antlütz unde ir varwe
diu wâren beidiu garwe
durliuhtec als ein spiegellîn.

ir schœne gap sô liehten schîn
und alsô wünneclichen glast
daz der selbe palast
von ir lîbe erliuhtet wart.
der wunsch enhæte niht gespart

an ir die sînen meisterschaft,
er hæte sîne besten kraft
mit ganzem flîze an si geleit.
swaz man von schœnen wîben seit,
der übergulde was ir lîp.

ez wart nie minneclicher wîp
beschouwet ûf der erde.
ouch was nâch vollem werde
ir lîp gecleidet schône.
diu cleider und diu crône

diu diu selbe frouwe cluoc
ûf und an ir lîbe truoc,
diu wâren alsô rîche
daz si sicherlîche
nie man vergelten kunde,

ob man si veile funde."

> dress of silk looked very poor; it had become transformed into a shabby rag. Her merry, delightful complexion had become piteous in color, as pale as ashes.[12]

Konrad ends his poem by offering a warning:

> I, Konrad von Würzburg, give this advice to all: Abandon the world, if you want to save your soul![13]

Although Konrad never addressed Frau Welt by name, as Walther did, we can be certain that he envisions the same woman based on the character's dual nature. Because Konrad's description of Frau Welt was so detailed, a reader (or listener) could imagine vividly what this figure looked like, and it would seem that she looked quite similar to the

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[12] Gentry, 116. The original text below is taken from Bibliotheca Augustana, "Der Welt Lohn:"

"sus kêrtes im den rucke dar:
der was in allen enden gar
bestecket und behangen

mit unken und mit slangen,
mit kroten und mit nâtern;
ir lîp was voller blâtern
und ungefüeger eizen,
fliegen unde âmeizen

ein wunder drinne sâzen,
ir fleisch die maden âzen
unz ûf daz gebeine.
si was sô gar unreine
daz von ir blœden lîbe wac

ein alsô egeslicher smac
den niemen kunde erlîden.
ir rîchez cleit von sîden
vil übel wart gehandelt:
ez wart aldâ verwandelt

in ein vil swachez tüechelîn;
ir liehter wünneclicher schîn
wart vil jâmerlich gevar
bleich alsam ein asche gar."

[13] Gentry, 117. The original text below is taken from Bibliotheca Augustana, "Der Welt Lohn:"

"von Wirzeburc ich Cuonrât
gibe iu allen disen rât,
daz ir die werlt lâzet varn,
welt ir die sêle bewarn."

statue at Worms cathedral: attractive from the front but from behind all types of creatures feast on her flesh. It would not be so far-fetched to believe that the sculptors and even viewers of the sculpture of Frau Welt at Worms cathedral were familiar to some extent with Konrad's text, as he was active at various points in his career along the Upper Rhine and his works circulated widely.

Although Walther's and Konrad's poems were the two main literary works that featured Frau Welt, a handful of other authors from around the same area incorporated the anthropomorphic world or its message into their poems. A crusading song of about 1188-1197 by Hartmann von Aue (ca. 1160-1210), active around Lake Constance, preaches against the world and worldliness in favor of spiritual riches:

> The world smiles at me and nods, hoping to seduce me. In my naïveté I followed her. Many is the time I ran after the wanton women; I hurried on to where no one can find constancy. Now help me, Lord Christ, with the symbol that I wear that I may renounce him who waits to ambush me.[14]

Less descriptively than Walther or Konrad, but equally convincingly, Hartmann makes clear the seductive nature of the world, and by the end of the poem he departs the world

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[14] Frank Tobin, Kim Vivian, and Richard H. Lawson, trans., *Arthurian Romances, Tales and Lyric Poetry: The Complete Works of Hartmann von Aue* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 36-37. The original text below is taken from Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Hartmann/har_li02.html (object name Kreuzzugslieder; accessed March 2, 2010):

> "diu werlt lachet mich triegende an
> und winket mir.
> nu hân ich als ein tumber man
> gevolget ir.
> der hacchen hân ich manigen tac
> geloufen nâch.
> dâ niemen stæte vinden mac
> dar was mir gâch.
> nu hilf mir, herre Krist,
> der mîn dâ vârende ist,
> daz ich mich dem entsage
> mit dînem zeichen, daz ich hie trage."

willingly as a crusader:

> I have adopted an attitude toward the world that makes me have very little desire for her. This is certainly good for me. As things now stand, God has treated me very well. I have been freed from worldly concerns that bind the feet of many, forcing them to stay at home, while I in the army of Christ depart in blissful joy.[15]

Similarly, Heinrich von Meissen (or Frauenlob; ca. 1250-1318), who was active in Mainz, created a dialogue between *Minne* (Love) and *Werlt* (World), in which *Minne* describes *Werlt* as a lovely looking woman with a repulsive backside:

> Your face, your lovely praiseworthy condition,
> the scriptures call your back foul,
> made ugly by snakes and worms.[16]

Several other German poets in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and even fifteenth centuries, such as Hugo von Montfort, Michel Beheim, and a poet simply known as Guotaere, borrowed the personified world for their own use.[17] Although only a handful of these

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[15] Tobin, Vivian, and Lawson, 38. The original text below is taken from Bibliotheca Augustana, "Kreuzzugslieder:"

> "mich hât diu welt alsô gewent,
> daz mir der muot
> sich zeiner mâze nâch ir sent.
> dêst mir nu guot:
> got hât vil wol ze mir getân,
> als ez nu stât,
> daz ich der sorgen bin erlân,
> diu menigen hât
> gebunden an den vuoz,
> daz er belîben muoz,
> swanne ich in Kristes schar
> mit fröiden wunneclîche var."

[16] I thank Professor Marc Pierce of the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Texas at Austin for his help with this translation of the original Middle High German in Ludwig Ettmüller, ed., *Heinrichs von Meissen des Frauenlobes Leiche, Sprüche, Streitgedichte und Lieder* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1966), 241:

"din angesiht, din schoene lobelichen stat
diu schrift sagt dinen rücke unvruot
von natern, würmen ungedigen."

[17] There is also an anonymous fourteenth-century Middle Frankish poem entitled "Das himmelische Gastmahl" that personifies the world in terms much like Konrad von Würzburg's. See Margaret D. Howie,

authors address the world by name (Frau Welt), nearly all mention or allude to her seductive and deceitful nature.

Robert Priebsch suggests that Walther's poem, and the subsequent poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that takes Frau Welt as its theme, may have been inspired by the Church's actions in the "twelfth and thirteenth centuries [that] fought and thundered more energetically than ever against the serene, optimistic conception of the world set up by chivalry."[18] Knighthood and chivalry were associated with ideals of "loyalty and honor, glory and generosity, a display of wealth tempered by good measure, and, especially in the *Minnesang*, the ideal of loyal service."[19] Such a mode of life emphasized martial, material, and aristocratic aspects, but the peaceful knight, the *miles pacificus*, that the Church idealized "was certainly not much in evidence in reality."[20] The Frau Welt allegory thus would have illustrated fittingly the ephemerality and worldliness with which chivalry and knightly culture were concerned.

Outside courtly literature, the unique iconography of Frau Welt was recorded in exempla, or vivid and descriptive stories used to relay a moral message, which were used often by preachers and in sermons to illustrate a point or message to an audience. Two such exempla have come down to us. The first is documented in Mainz around 1273; it tells of a knight's encounter with a beautiful woman. The woman asks him to examine

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"Studies in the Use of Exempla with Special References to Middle High German Literature" (PhD diss., University of London, 1923), 70-72.

[18] Robert Priebsch, "Walther von der Vogelweide: 'Abschied von der Welt,'" *Modern Language Review* 13 (1918): 468.

[19] Richard Mortimer, "Knights and Knighthood in Germany in the Central Middle Ages," in *The Ideals and Practices of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1986), 97.

[20] Mortimer, 98.

her beauty more closely, and when he does he finds horrors hidden on her backside and promises immediately to change his worldly ways:

> Because she turned towards him, the knight saw that woman [to be] full of worms, decaying and unclean so that the horror of those things overcame all the glory of the previous sight. To which she [said]: "I am the glory of the world. Such is my fruit." After that word the image fell apart and the knight returned corrected.[21]

The second exemplum is included in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a popular Latin book of moralizing stories compiled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in Germany, in which a man sets his eyes on a woman with an attractive face but upon seeing her disgusting backside vows to abandon the world:

> And she said, "Look at my back behind me." When he had looked, she appeared most ugly, full of worms and stinking like a cadaver. And she said to the knight: "Just as you see me promising beauty with my face and contemptibility from the rear, so will the horrid, fetid, and bitter world be which you allow yourself to follow rather than God." When the soldier understood these things, he renounced the world and began to follow God with good works in a hermitage, and he concluded the days of his life in service to God.[22]

Although these examples postdate much of the courtly literature that features Frau Welt (especially Walther's and Konrad's poems), the survival of such exempla may be evidence of the popularity of the basic plot – a courtly or knightly man encounters a half pretty, half ugly/rotten woman – that could have circulated contemporarily with or earlier

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[21] I thank Robert Scott Garbacz for his help with this translation of the original Latin in Priebsch, 470: "Quae cum ad eum convertisset, miles vidit eam plenam vermibus, putridine et immundiciis et fetore ita quod horror istorum omnem gloriam prius visum superaret. Ad quem illa: ' Ego sum gloria mundi. Tales sunt fructus mei.' Ad haec verba ymago disparuit et miles emendatus rediit."

[22] I would like to additionally thank Robert Scott Garbacz for his help with this translation of the original Latin in Priebsch, 470. "Et dixit: 'Respice me a tergo.' Cum vidisset, apparuit turpissima, vermibus plena et fetens ut cadaver. Et dixit militi: 'Sicud vidisti me sponsem decoram facie et a tergo despectam. Sic erit tibi seculum horridum, fetidum et amarum quod te non deum sequi permittit.' Haec miles cognoscens seculo renunciavit et bonis operibus in eremo deum sequi incepit et dies vite sua in dei servicio consumens."

than the courtly literature. And perhaps even more interestingly, this story and plot seem to have been developed or employed almost exclusively by authors active along the Rhine or in southern Germany, where the earliest sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt appear. With the popularity of the Frau Welt allegory and Frau Welt-inspired figures seemingly extending beyond the courtly realm and into exempla, Priebsch rightly states that the "ecclesiastical employers [of the Frau Welt sculpture at Worms cathedral] were more likely to have derived their knowledge of the subject from the widespread *exemplum* than, as has been suggested, from the poem of Konrad von Würzburg [or Walther von der Vogelweide]".[23] With Frau Welt's literary roots extending to the early thirteenth century and an impressive corpus of this literature surviving, it is surprising that Frau Welt at Worms cathedral is the only known sculptural expression of this allegory.

THE *FRAU WELT* SCULPTURE AT WORMS CATHEDRAL

The Frau Welt sculpture resides on the south portal of Worms cathedral (Figures 3-4). It will be useful to discuss the iconographic program of which she was a part. The south portal was and is the main entrance at Worms cathedral, and it opens directly into the aisle in the fourth bay west of the transept (Figures 18-19). Its original Romanesque incarnation, completed around 1181, was changed dramatically when projecting chapels (Nikolauskapelle and Annenkapelle) were added to the south wall of the building at either side of the doorway in the late thirteenth century so that the portal was now tightly confined between parallel walls that extended out from the original south wall of the

[23] Priebsch, 471.

building. At about this same time, between 1290 and 1320, the sculptural program was replaced and these confining walls were used for extensions of the portal program (Figure 20). Unfortunately, very little documentation and information survive concerning the patron, details, and artist of the commission. Despite these lacunae, the result of this campaign is essentially a pictorial Bible with an array of biblical figures and scenes carved into stone that would have dazzled viewers with vibrant lifelike pigment.[24]

Above the two large south portal doors sits the tympanum with the Coronation of the Virgin as its subject (Figure 21).[25] An enthroned Christ with his left hand on a book crowns Mary with his right. Mary leans forward humbly with her arms crossed over her chest and stares out, while Christ sets his gaze on her. From the viewer's perspective, at the right side of the tympanum appears the patron saint of the cathedral, Saint Peter, who kneels toward Christ raising a key and holding a book. At the far left, a bishop kneels with a crozier and book in hand. The identification of this bishop remains unclear (perhaps one of bishops who oversaw the reconstruction), but we can be certain that it is

[24] For more on the now-lost pigment on the south portal sculptures, see Hans Michael Hangleiter, "Untersuchung der historischen Farbigkeit," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*, ed. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Rheinland-Pfalz (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 100-103. The most recent scholarship on Worms cathedral is Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Rheinland-Pfalz, ed. *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*. See also Irene Spille, "Neuentdeckungen zur Datierung des Wormser Domes," *Der Wormsgau* 13 (1979-1981): 106-112; Ernst Hollstein, "Neue Bauholzdaten des Wormser Domes," *Neues Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz* (1981): 125-134; Dieter Großman, "Zur Baugeschichte der Dome in Mainz und Worms," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 34 (1984): 294–312; Dethard von Winterfeld, "The Imperial Cathedrals of Speyer, Mainz and Worms: The Current State of Research," in *Mainz and the Middle Rhine Valley: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archeology*, ed. Ute Engel and Alexandra Gajewski (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2007), 14-32.

[25] This tympanum was carved on the reverse side of the Romanesque tympanum.

a bishop because of his costume and attributes.[26] Ornamental motifs depicting various leaves enclose the four figures, all of which appear in the same scale. The bishop's foot protrudes out of his designated space and into the decorative border. This small detail may have been included deliberately to distinguish the bishop subtly from the saintly figures in the tympanum, or it may have been the result of poor spacing.

Below the tympanum, two consoles support the narrow lintel: on the left rides a falconer on horseback with a sword representing Obedience, and on the right a naked rider, unable to control his horse, represents Disobedience. Surrounding each figure is a cluster of leaves, acanthus and oak, respectively.

On each side of the portal appear four jamb figures (Figures 22-23). Their arrangement is unusual; not only are they set in two registers but even the lower figures are positioned unusually high with their chins at the level of the bottom of the tympanum. The four to the right represent Old Testament figures, while to the left appear the Four Evangelists from the New Testament (Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John). Each of the Evangelists holds a Gospel book in his left hand, and his symbol appears at his foot. The figures from the Old Testament do not appear with attributes, and consequently, scholars have not been able to make definite identifications, although Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel have been suggested.[27] It does appear, however, that each Old Testament figure once held a scroll that may have stated or alluded to its identity.

Directly above the eight figures, Old Testament and New Testament stories of a

[26] The rebuilding of the south portal spread over the rules of Bishops Simon (1283-1291), Eberhard II (1291-1293), Emicho (1294-1299), Eberwin (1300-1303), Emicho of Schöneck (1307-1318), Heinrich (1318-1319), and Konrad IV (1319-1329).
[27] Eduard Sebald, "Das gotische Südportal," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*, 36-75.

smaller scale occupy the archivolts (Figure 24). The outer archivolt contains six scenes from the New Testament on each side of the keystone, while the inner archivolt arranges five scenes from the Old Testament on each side of the keystone. The typological connection between the Old and New Testament is emphasized by the seemingly deliberate placement of episodes: the birth of Eve appears next to that of Christ, and the Ascension of Elijah mirrors that of Christ. The sculptor has used the narrow spaces creatively to illustrate the populated scenes by stacking and compressing figures. The sculptor must also be recognized for his ability to reproduce tactile qualities: textured curls, woven fabrics, palpable animal skin, and so on. Carved bands of leaves separate and surround the Old and New Testament scenes. Positioned atop the archivolts in the gable, Ecclesia rides a tetramorph, out of whose neck sprout the heads of a lion, eagle, ox, and human, the symbols of the Four Evangelists.[28] Ecclesia's dominant position on the south portal reminds viewers that she is the guardian of this sacred space and that the Church trumps all.

To the left of the south portal doors, the sculptural program extends across the exterior east wall of the Nikolauskapelle.[29] Here three figures are arranged between the windows: from right to left an unidentified bishop with a model of the neighboring Johanneskirche, an angel from the Last Judgment, and John the Baptist (Figure 25). On the exterior south wall of the Nikolauskapelle stand two statues: the Virgin and Child and Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Figures 26-27). All the figures adorning the exterior walls

[28] The tetramorph is described in detail in Ezekiel 1:5-14.

[29] For more on the Nikolauskapelle, see Gerold Bönnen, "Barbarossa und die Bruderschaft zur Nikolauskapelle des Wormser Domes," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 49 (1979): 9-23.

of the Nikolauskapelle, along with the jamb figures and Ecclesia riding the tetramorph, were completed around the same time as the statues of the four female allegories (1300-1310). These figures, just like those on the south portal proper, stand on ornamented consoles and are crowned by baldachins that mimic Gothic architecture.

To the right of the south portal doors, the sculptural program occupies the southwest corner of the Annenkapelle. It is on the exterior west wall of the Annenkapelle that the four female allegories stand (Figure 28-30). Charity stands atop Synagoga on the side of the pier closest to the south portal doors, while Faith, above, and Frau Welt, below, stand to the right on the side of the pier that faces south.

Situated above Synagoga and next to Faith, Charity, an allegory of love for God and one's neighbor, stands erect and gazes out toward the viewer. A majestic crown sits on her head, and a mantel covers her hair. She wears a cloak that partially covers a flowing dress. The drapery folds of her cloak and dress underneath mimic real fabric. In her left hand she holds a chalice and in her right she holds a piece of clothing. Two small figures – a man and a woman – kneel near her right foot. Because the male figure carries a staff it is thought that the pair represents beggars. The two figures appear to be the intended recipients of the clothing that Charity holds, since clothing the needy was one of the six Acts of Charity outlined in Matthew 25:34-40:

> Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in: Naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me. Then shall the just answer him, saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and fed thee; thirsty, and gave thee drink? And when did we see thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked,

> and covered thee? Or when did we see thee sick or in prison, and came to thee? And the king answering, shall say to them: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me.[30]

Although Charity was most often shown offering clothing to beggars or the naked, she sometimes was shown offering food. As the mother of all virtues and one of the three theological virtues (along with Faith and Hope), Charity appeared regularly on church facades both north and south of the Alps during the Middle Ages.[31]

While Charity was a fairly common figure with a recognizable set of attributes in medieval ecclesiastical art, the earliest written account of Charity at Worms cathedral, that of Georg Witzel from the mid-sixteenth century, identifies her as Misericordia (Compassion), the "function of serving one's neighbor" according to Augustine.[32] While Witzel may have understood the statue to be Misericordia, the statue clearly depicts Charity because the figure corresponds iconographically to the standard representation of this allegory at this time.

To the viewer's right of Charity we find Faith, an allegory of true belief in God. She, too, wears a crown under which her long, wavy hair flows against her face and down her back. Faith wears a simple loose-fitting dress. Her hands have been broken off, and thus the attributes she held in her hands no longer exist. Witzel provides the earliest

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[30] All quotations from the Bible are from the Douay-Rheims version. The seventh act of charity, burying the dead, was added in the thirteenth century and is derived from Tobias 2:1-9.

[31] Other examples stylistically similar and roughly contemporary to the figure of Charity at Worms cathedral include sculptures at the cathedrals at Hildesheim, Chartres, Paris, and Pisa. For more on the iconography of Charity in medieval art, see Robert Freyhan, "The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948): 68-86.

[32] Freyhan, 69.

description of this figure, but as Faith's hands were already broken off in Witzel's time, he only speculates as to what they may have held:

> The former holds in her right hand a book and in her left an arrow, although today both are broken from age. I am of the view that this lady is Biblical Truth.[33]

Although we are fortunate to have Witzel's early account, the uncertainty of her attributes has sparked several interpretations by modern scholars of the actual allegory and what attributes she may once have held. Friedrich Schneider understood the figure to be True Faith, while Erich Grill believed that this figure once held a chalice and a cross and understood it to be Ecclesia.[34] But it was not until 1920 that the current interpretation of the figure as Faith was offered by D. Günther and became generally accepted.[35] The identification of this figure as Faith is deduced from the context of all four figures, rather than from its attributes alone, which often were shared by other allegories.[36]

Below Charity we find Synagoga, an allegory of Judaism and Jewish beliefs.[37] Compared to the two Christian virtues above, Synagoga appears disheveled: her head tilts

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[33] The English translation is my own. "Tenet haec autem manu dextra librum et sinistra sagittam, tametsi utrumque horum temporum vetustate comminutum. Quam ego heroinam interpretor biblicam veritatem." Scholz, "Quellen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms,* 148.

[34] Friedrich Schneider, "Die allegorischen Sculpturen am Südporale des Wormser Domes," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* 17 (1870): 152-155; Erich Grill, "Ein neuer Versuch zur Erklärung der vier allegorischen weiblichen Figuren vor dem Südportal des Domes zu Worms," *Vom Rhein: Monatsblatt des Wormser Altertumsvereins* 13 (1914): 35-37.

[35] D. Günther, "Die vier allegorischen Figuren am Südportal des Wormser Doms," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 33 (1920): 1-14

[36] For example, the cross and chalice were attributes of both Ecclesia and Faith.

[37] Personified representations of Synagoga will be discussed further in Chapter Four. During the Middle Ages, Worms housed a very large Jewish community in the northern part of the city. The community had existed since the tenth century and flourished from the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. A monumental synagogue was built in 1174. The oldest Jewish cemetery in all of Europe is located nearby; it dates to the eleventh century and includes more than 2,000 graves. For more on Jews in medieval Worms,

to the right as her crown tumbles off her head and a blindfold covers her eyes. A bent lance is under her right arm, while in her hand she holds a ram. Her left hand is broken off but may have held a small dagger. Witzel observes:

> The first woman holds with her hand a ram with a slit throat and with her other hand a twice-broken lance. Also a crown appears to fall off her head and she is blindfolded. Daniel had explained to me that she represents the synagogue of the Jews that was defeated through the arrival of the present church and is shown stunned. This interpretation is presented by the Apostle Paul in his Letter to the Romans. Prophet Jerome said the same: *the crown fell from her head* and so on. …This figure was once a trophy of victory, but now it is a clear figure of the defeat and shame of Judaism.[38]

Although Witzel's account of Synagoga does not confirm a dagger in her right hand, a woodcut from 1600 does.[39] As Reinhard Bleck notes, the attributes of a fallen crown, blindfold, lance, and ram are specific to Synagoga, but "with the identification of the figure as Synagogue the interpretation is not yet completed because Synagogue can embody different concepts: Judaism or rather Jewish Belief or Idolatry or rather Infidelity (Unbelief)."[40]

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see, for example, Fritz Reuter, *Warmaisa: 1000 Jahre Juden in Worms* (Worms: Verlag Stadtarchiv Worms, 1984); Christoph Cluse, ed., *Europas Juden im Mittelalter: Beiträge des internationalen Symposiums in Speyer vom 20.-25. Oktober 2002* (Trier: Kliomedia, 2004).

[38] The English translation is my own. "Prima mulier hircum iugulatum altera manu tenet, altera vexillum bis fractum, praeterea corona huius capite decidere videtur et habet obvelatos oculos. Hanc vero Daniel mihi synagogam Iudaeorum adumbrare subiudicavit, utque quae adventu praesentis ecclesiae victa atque confusa existertet. Exoecatam eam facit apostolus Paulus in epistula Romana. Et de hac eadem ait propheta Hieremias: *Cecidit corona capitis nostri* etcetera…signum istud olim trophaeum erat victoriae, at nunc est manifesta significatio convicti atque pudefacti Iudaismi." Scholz, "Quellen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte," in *Das Südportal des Wormser Doms*, 147-148.

[39] Reinhard Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen am Südportal des Wormser Doms," *Der Wormsgau* 14 (1982-1986): 116.

[40] The English translation is my own. "Mit der Identifikation der Figur als Synagoge ist die Deutung nicht abgeschlossen, denn die Synagoge kann verschiedene Vorstellungen verkörpern: das Judentum bzw. den jüdenischen Glauben oder Idololatria bzw. Infidelitas (Unglaube)." Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen," 117.

The fourth female allegory, situated next to Synagoga and below Faith, is Frau Welt, a protagonist of this study and an allegory of the temptation of the material world (Figures 3-4). She stands upright and stares out with a smile on her face. Her braided hair tucks beneath her headpiece, on which a diadem sits. She wears a dress made of ostentatiously ample amounts of fabric, which gather on her belly and flow past her feet.[41] In her right hand she holds a shield, below which we find a small knight, clad in a hauberk and a cloak, kneeling next to her leg and raising his hands in a gesture of reverence (Figure 31).[42] Although Frau Welt holds the shield, it is understood to be that of the knight because of its scale and traditional association with knighthood. Unlike the other female allegories, which can only be seen from the front, Frau Welt is positioned at a slight angle, which enables the viewer to see both her front and back. This positioning differs from most portal and jamb figures where the frontal view is typically the only one offered to the viewer. Frau Welt's backside crawls with toads, snakes, and worms that weave (and seemingly eat) their way in and out of her flesh. The beauty that radiates from her front is completely negated by the horrors of her backside: her diadem does not extend completely around her head, nor does her fancy clothing; rather, all we see are loathsome creatures. This dual iconography alludes to her deceptive nature, to which the knight – caught up in her beauty – remains oblivious.

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[41] The excessive fabric gathering near her belly has led one scholar to believe she is pregnant; it is now clear, however, that the ample fabric refers to Frau Welt's preoccupation with materiality. See Aloys Schmidt, "Die allegorischen Bildwerk am Südportal des Wormser Domes," *Wormsgau* 11 (1974-1975): 69-73.

[42] In her left hand she perhaps once held a sword or spear, although no early accounts record this. Otto Schmitt, "Straßburg und die süddeutsche Monumentalplastik im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 2 (1922): 109-144.

Frau Welt, unlike Charity, Faith, and Synagoga, was an allegory that seldom appeared in medieval art; indeed the figure at Worms cathedral is the only extant example in sculpture. The allegory's attributes were not standard, nor easily recognizable like those of the other allegories. And as a result, as outlined in the Introduction to this study, the Frau Welt sculpture has been subject to many interpretations throughout the centuries. We can be certain, however, that this figure is meant to be Frau Welt because it matches so perfectly with literary descriptions of Frau Welt, especially those penned by Walther and Konrad. Of all the consoles that the female allegories stand on, only Frau Welt's contains an actual subject: a ram eating grapes. This scene, as interpreted by Bleck, alludes to Luxuria, which "is an subordinate aspect of Worldly Love."[43]

Although each female allegory has its own meaning, it is important to examine the relationship between the four, as outlined by Bleck, since they were certainly not meant to be read independently of one another. Based on surviving written accounts and prints, the present arrangement of the figures has not changed since the sixteenth century. And based on the spatial relationship between the figures, it is likely that this arrangement was also the original from the fourteenth century. On the most basic level, physical oppositions in both gestures and expressions are set up between Charity and Faith on the upper register, who wear crowns and smiles, and Synagoga and Frau Welt on the lower register, who lack crowns. Furthermore, Charity and Faith stand upright, while Synagoga slumps and Frau Welt's posture suggests arrogance. On the lower register,

[43] The English translation is my own. "Ist ein untergordneter Aspekt der Weltliebe." Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen," 121.

Frau Welt and Synagoga share the use of the ram and the notion of blindness: Synagoga is blindfolded and the knight is blinded figuratively to Frau Welt's backside by her beauty.

The greater relationship exists between the good allegories on top and the evil below; "this complies to the Christian view that good triumphs over evil."[44] Further, allegorical extremes are placed diagonally across from one another: Charity and Frau Welt, and Faith and Synagoga. Charity and Frau Welt appear further connected through the small figures standing at their feet, to whom each hands an object. The two contrasting figures also wear headpieces. The direct opposition between Synagoga and Faith is supported by their accompanying physical attributes: Synagoga appears with a broken lance and Faith is thought to have once carried a similar object (an arrow or cross), and both figures have long, flowing hair. Bleck has conveniently charted the spatial relationships of the female allegories to show how each figure relates to the others (Figure 32). On a more theological level, the message of Charity contrasts with that of Frau Welt and Faith's with that of Synagoga: spiritual versus worldly love and true versus false faith.

AN ANIMAL ICONOGRAPHY

Frau Welt's preoccupation with worldliness and materiality were conveyed through her rich and expensive dress, hairstyle, and accessories, but what did the toads, snakes, and worms add or symbolize? Aside from aiding the notion of deception – what

[44] The English translation is my own. "Dies entspricht der christlichen Auffasung, daß das Gute über das Böse triumphiert." Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen," 122.

you see is not what you get – each of the animals crawling on the backside held negative connotations in the Middle Ages and was perhaps chosen deliberately by the authors or sculptors of this allegory in order to make a point.

In the Middle Ages, toads were commonly considered evil and the frog benign; toads were used often in medieval art to represent negative qualities.[45] But since visually the two amphibians look quite similar, the context in which they appear usually determines the identity. While descriptions of Frau Welt in literature state explicitly that toads (never frogs) hang from her back, the creatures on the back of the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt must be identified through context. Because these animals appear with worms and snakes (or other animals with negative connotations, as we will see in Chapter Two), along with the fact that Frau Welt was a negative character, it is safe to identify the creatures as toads, not frogs, despite the lack of textual confirmation.

More obviously, the snake or serpent held negative connotations in Christianity that were rooted in the Old Testament, when Eve was tempted by the serpent to eat the forbidden fruit, which was followed by the fall of man. The negative view of snakes carried well into the Middle Ages but interestingly does not appear in bestiaries, the foremost authority on animals during this period, which tended to take a more or less "objective" stance on the reptile.[46] The same can be said about worms.[47] Despite their neutral and "scientific" description in bestiaries, worms and snakes were thought of as

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[45] Mary E. Robbins, "The Truculent Toad in the Middle Ages," in *Animals in the Middle Ages*, ed. Nora Flores (New York: Routledge, 2000).
[46] T. H. White, ed. and trans., *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1960), 187-190.
[47] White, 191-194.

negative, evil creatures in the Middle Ages, just as toads were, as evidenced by medieval texts other than the bestiary.

The human body as food for worms had a history in Western Europe, but it was not until the twelfth century that this concept was well established. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw writings by Bernard of Clairvaux and Jacopone da Todi, among others, that described the body as food for worms.[48] But perhaps the best examples of the negative use of toads, worms, and snakes come from chroniclers writing about the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century. Although these texts date a few decades after the focus of this study, the use of toads, worms, and snakes to convey and illustrate decay, evil, and death is continuous. An English monk preached that:

> If we would but consider well how quickly we shall be placed beneath the feet not only of men, friend and foe alike, but of dogs, and the beasts of the field – he who can hardly decide which robe he wishes to wear, shall have a garment of earth and worms – he who now, taking offence at a word, fights the offender, then if he have sword in his hand could not defend himself from the vilest beast, even the worms – we should find little reason for pride…*Sic transit Gloria mundi*![49]

One chronicler from the monastery of Neuberg in southern Austria recounts that in 1348 "a deadly rain fell, mixed with serpents and all sorts of pestilential worms, and instantly

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[48] Bernard of Clairvaux stated: "It is the work of madness to feed what is barren and brings forth nothing, to be unwilling to give anything to the widow, to care nothing for the heart and to give the flesh everything it wants, to fatten and caress a putrid body that is destined before long to be the food of worms." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Works*, trans. Gillian Rosemary Evans (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 19. In a poem entitled "Of the Contemplation of Death and Burial, to Counter Pride," Jacopone da Todi wrote: "And save thee from the worms that on thee feed." Evelyn Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi, Poet and Mystic 1228-1306: A Spiritual Biography,* trans. Theodore Beck (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1919), 273.

[49] Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 30-31.

killed everyone it touched."[50] Likewise, a fourteenth-century German monk from Regensburg contrasted the splendor of life with the "horrible image of death, with diverse worms, with toads on the head and snakes in the eyes, ears, and nose."[51] With the negative views of such creatures in the Middle Ages in mind, it becomes clear that the originators, authors, commissioners, and artists of the Frau Welt allegory in art and literature employed specific animals to convey a deliberately grim message. The inclusion of toads, worms, and snakes on the sculpture of Frau Welt at Worms cathedral helped to convey the anti-world message. Without prior conditioning to the allegory of Frau Welt, a viewer could understand its general message as framed by its iconography: an attractive and rich facade conceals a rotting and putrid backside consumed by nasty toads, snakes, and worms.

LATER IMAGES OF *FRAU WELT*

The Frau Welt sculpture at Worms cathedral is the only extant example of its kind. Other images of Frau Welt date mostly from the fifteenth century, appear exclusively on parchment or paper, and display a completely different iconography. The Frau Welt image from a 1414 *Biblia pauperum* shows the updated allegory as a "conglomeration of alien parts meant symbolically to denote the Seven Deadly Sins embodied in a single form" (Figure 33).[52] This Frau Welt, who appears beautiful and young, wears a crown labeled *Superbia* (Pride), her neckline is labeled *Luxuria*

[50] Rosemary Horrox, ed. and trans., *The Black Death*, Manchester Medieval Sources Series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 59.
[51] Cohen, 31.
[52] Nona Cecilia Flores, "'Virgineum Vultum Habens': The Woman-Headed Serpent in Art and Literature from 1300-1700" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1981), 102. Mettener Armenbibel (Biblia pauperum) MS clm. 8201, fol. 95r, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

(Extravagance/Lust), she holds a cup identified as *Gula* (Gluttony), two animals, a wolf and a dog, on her bust are labeled *Ira* (Wrath) and *Invidia* (Envy), her belt (out of which coins fall) is labeled *Avaritia* (Greed), and her left arm is identified as *Acedia* (Sloth). *Vita* (Life) and *Mort* (Death) are inscribed on her legs. Similar representations of Frau Welt appear in other manuscripts and prints from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[53]

Modern scholars have identified these later images as Frau Welt based on the texts with anti-world themes that accompany several of the images.[54] As Christian Kiening rightly notes, the Frau Welt sculpture at Worms cathedral and the Frau Welt images found on paper and parchment "may embody different types of images, but [offer] the same warning against the dedication to transient worldliness."[55] Similarly, I contend that the two types of Frau Welt images shared a similar role as the antithesis of religious ambition through the ability to distract and lure man into worldly activities by visual beauty and that this seductive nature allows the two different types of images to represent the same allegory. This is not to say, however, that the inconsistent representation may not also reflect changing perceptions of the allegory over the centuries that may remain obscure to the modern viewer.

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[53] Other images of Frau Welt include a fifteenth-century broadsheet at the British Library in London, an illustration from around 1430 in MS 1401 (fol. 2v) at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, a late fifteenth-century woodcut from the Upper Rhine, and a sixteenth-century print by Master H. L. For more on these later Frau Welt images, see Wolfgang Stammler, *Frau Welt: Eine mittelalterliche Allegorie* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1959), 61-64.

[54] Stammler, 53-68; Kiening, 448-450.

[55] The English translation is my own. "Verkörpern zwar verschiedene Bildtypen, doch die gleiche Warnung vor einer Hingabe an vergängliche Weltlichkeit." Kiening, 449.

CONCLUSION

Returning our focus to the Worms cathedral, as the main public entrance, the south portal and its decoration would have offered churchgoers a first impression of the cathedral. To a medieval viewer, the south portal was perhaps a pictorial Bible chiseled into stone; characters and stories from the Old and New Testament flanked the south portal to remind, introduce, teach, or illustrate the Christian message and Christian cast of characters.

Compared to other Gothic portals of the time, Worms cathedral's south portal iconography appears within the standard possibilities for representation; with the exception of Frau Welt, all the characters and scenes can be found frequently on other cathedral facades. Scenes from the Infancy and Life of Christ, statues of Old and New Testament figures, and allegories of virtues and vices, were nothing out of the ordinary. The exception to the familiar cast of characters on the south portal was Frau Welt.

Despite this, Frau Welt plays an integral role in the group of female allegories. Without Frau Welt, or even with replacing her with another figure, the reading of the four allegories as a group does not make sense. Each allegory seems to have been handpicked by the patron or artist to create a complex interconnected group. So in this sense, Frau Welt fits into the Christian iconography on the south portal of Worms cathedral because she provided the necessary oppositional qualities to complete the allegorical group.

As she stood on the south portal, Frau Welt warned onlookers of the temptations and deception of the world and materialism. Through a lucid and legible iconography that emphasized deception and ephemerality, the sculpture of Frau Welt at Worms

cathedral would have served as an active reminder for viewers familiar with the allegory to varying degrees to veer from a life of luxury, materiality, and worldliness. Later images of Frau Welt deviate from this iconography, yet share the same skeptical outlook toward the world and its deception. It was, however, Frau Welt's male counterpart, the Fürst der Welt, who proved to be the most successful champion of the message. This, I believe, has much to do with his inclusion into an already existing and recognizable motif: the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

CHAPTER TWO
THE *FÜRST DER WELT*:
"THE PRINCE OF THIS WORLD COMETH, AND IN ME HE HATH NOT ANY THING"[1]

Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like to ten virgins, who taking their lamps went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride. And five of them were foolish, and five wise. But the five foolish, having taken their lamps, did not take oil with them: But the wise took oil in their vessels with the lamps. And the bridegroom tarrying, they all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a cry made: Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him. Then all those virgins arose and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said to the wise: Give us of your oil, for our lamps are gone out. The wise answered, saying: Lest perhaps there be not enough for us and for you, go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves. Now whilst they went to buy, the bridegroom came: and they that were ready, went in with him to the marriage, and the door was shut. But at last came also the other virgins, saying: Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answering said: Amen I say to you, I know you not. Watch ye therefore, because you know not the day nor the hour.[2]

Like his female counterpart, the Fürst der Welt conveyed a moralizing anti-world message to an audience of all levels of sophistication though an uncomplicated iconography and a legible form. This warning against materiality and worldliness was further underscored by the context in which many of the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt appear. This chapter will consider the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in textual and visual form and focus on those examples that include a sculpture of the Fürst der Welt. A particular emphasis will be placed upon the sculptures along the Upper Rhine – Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel – as those are the earliest and most dramatic examples. In order to set the context for the review of Wise and Foolish Virgin programs that include the Fürst der Welt, I will first consider understandings of the parable, early

[1] John 14:30.
[2] Matthew 25: 1-13.

sculptural renderings of the parable that do not include the Fürst der Welt, and plays of the parable.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS

Despite being descriptive enough to translate into visual form, the textual version of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is unclear at times and thus certain elements are left open for interpretation. As Regine Körkel-Hinkfoth has pointed out, all the Virgins are essentially the same: they wait, they sleep, and they wake at the announcement.[3] What distinguishes the Wise from the Foolish, however, is the oil: the Wise bring it and the Foolish do not. And it is through this preparedness, or lack thereof, that the fate of the Virgins is decided. Furthermore, and perhaps most interesting for the translation of the parable into visual art, there is no exploration of the feelings of the Wise after being accepted or the Foolish after being rejected by the bridegroom. Nowhere in the text do the Wise rejoice or the Foolish mourn. Despite this, however, their emotions and feelings became a means of communicating the parable's message, especially among German sculptors of the thirteenth century.

The opening lines of the parable – "Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like to ten virgins" – immediately establishes how this parable is to be read: in an eschatological light and as an allegory for the Last Judgment. Understanding the parable through an eschatological lens equates the bridegroom with Christ, the Wise with the Saved, and the Foolish with the Damned. This reading of the parable reminded one to be prepared for

[3] Regine Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen (Mt. 25, 1-13) in der bildenden Kunst und im geistlichen Schauspiel* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994), 21-22.

the last days and to expect the end when it is least expected. This core message of the parable made it a natural topic of discussion among theologians beginning in the early Christian period.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS IN EXEGESIS

From the very nascence of Christianity, in both the East and the West, the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was understood as an allegory for the second coming of Christ. There were, however, alternative interpretations.[4] It will be useful to address some of these theological texts and interpretations from both the early Christian period and the Middle Ages in order to situate the parable in a longstanding theological tradition and one to which many of the sculpted renderings of the parable conform.[5]

One of the earliest voices on the parable is that of Origen (d. 254). Comparing the Virgins in the parable to those in the Song of Songs, Origen believed that the parable spoke about actual virginity. For him, the lamps were the lights of virginity: "Whereas the simple language of the Holy Scriptures has led to their honest readers being filled with a divine spirit; and this light is nourished within them by the oil, which in a certain

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[4] Looking beyond the Wise and Foolish as types for the Saved and Damned is the subject of Pamela Elizabeth Loos-Noji's dissertation. Through a series of case studies of images of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in twelfth-century France, Loos-Noiji argues that the Virgins were subject to alternative, non-eschatological interpretations such as symbols for death or personal salvation, spiritual vigilance, and moral choice, among other things. Pamela Elizabeth Loos-Noji, "The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Twelfth-Century Art: Alternative Approaches to Visual Imagery" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1996).

[5] The following overview of textual accounts of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is based largely on Körkel-Hinkfoth's compilation. See Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen*, 17-37. See also H. L. Goudge, "The Parable of the Ten Virgins," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1929): 399-401; C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 3rd ed. (Welwyn: James Nisbet & Co., 1936); Karl Donfried, "The Allegory of the Ten Virgins (Matt 25: 1-13) as Summary of Matthaean Theology," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1974): 415-28; Armand Puig i Tàrrech, *La parabole des dix vierges* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1983); Stephen L. Wailes, *Medieval Allegories of Jesus' Parables* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 177-184; Loos-Noji, 27-53.

parable is said to have preserved the light of the torches of the five wise virgins."[6] The Foolish were careless and caught up in worldly and carnal pleasures, while the Wise were spiritually grounded; the Wise did good deeds and the Foolish did bad deeds. He also interpreted the parable in the more traditional eschatological light, understanding the bridegroom as Christ, the slumber of both the Wise and Foolish as death, and midnight as the end of time. The idea that the five Foolish represented the five senses was also voiced by Origen, although it was not until Augustine that this idea was developed further and became more influential.[7]

Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373) incorporated the parable into several of his sermons and hymns. In addition to the eschatological reading, he equated the Foolish Virgins' shortage of oil with lack of almsgiving or charity.[8] John Chrysostom (d. 407) believed that the slumber of the Virgins equated to death from which one would be awakened on the night of Last Judgment.[9] He also voiced the idea of charity being a distinguishing feature of the Wise: "Fire is virginity, but oil is alms."[10] Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367)

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[6] Origen, *Against Celsus*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Cox, trans. Frederick Crombie, *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1885), 4: book 6, chapter 5, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/04166.htm (accessed September 2, 2014).

[7] Augustine, *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin*, ed. G. Bardy, J. A. Beckaert, and J. Boutet, *Bibliothéque augustinienne* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie, 1952), 10: 736.

[8] Hildegard Heyne, "Das Gleichnis von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen" (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, 1922), 33.

[9] John Chrysostom, "Homilia LXXVIII," in *Patrologia Graeco*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1857-1866), 57-58: 711.

[10] The English translation is my own. "Ignis est virginitas, oleum autem est eleemosynam." Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 21.

understood the Virgins in terms of belief. For him, the Wise were believers in Christ and the Foolish were not. In this sense, he interpreted the flame of the lamp to be baptism.[11]

Jerome (d. 420) addressed the parable on several occasions. Jerome took a traditional stance and likened the events in the parable to the Last Judgment, yet he also elaborated on the nature of the Virgins. In his letter of spiritual instruction to Eustochium, Jerome likened the Foolish to evil: "Such are evil virgins, virgins in the flesh, not in the spirit; foolish virgins, who, having no oil, are shut out by the bridegroom."[12] For Jerome, it is the pride of the Foolish that results in their fall from virtue, and in his two-volume treatise *Against Jovinianus* Jerome argues that virginity alone is not enough to be saved: "It would be endless work to explain the Gospel mystery of the ten virgins, five of whom were wise and five foolish. All I say now is, that as mere virginity without other works does not save, so all works without virginity, purity, continence, chastity, are imperfect."[13]

An important source for visual representations of the parable is the *Opus imperfectum in Mattaeum,* a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew from the fifth century. The unknown author reiterates previous belief that the maidens are likened to "ten senses – five carnal and five spiritual" and that the Wise are virgins in body and

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[11] Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 22.
[12] Jerome, "Letter XXII to Eustochium," in *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd ser. (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893), 6: 24.
[13] Jerome, "Against Jovinianus," in *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, 6: 379.

spirit.[14] It is also in this anonymous text that the Wise are described as appearing to the right of the bridegroom and the Foolish to his left:

> Christ reveals these virgins that must be divided when the righteous must be divided by his word from the unrighteous and the holy from the wicked, so that five (that is, the wise) are placed at the right hand of the just judge, but five (that is, the foolish) are placed at his left.[15]

Even though there were images of the parable that preceded this text and conform to its arrangement of the Virgins, this is the earliest text to voice this. And while this arrangement is not surprising, since the privileged was often associated with Christ's right, it is important since almost no visual representation of the parable veers from this.[16]

Augustine formulated perhaps the most important and lasting interpretation of the parable beyond a likeness for the Last Judgment in the early Christian period. He understood the lamp to be the human heart and the oil to be charity. And thus for him burnings lamps were good hearts that carried out good works. In Sermon 43 he wrote:

> Some great, some exceedingly great thing does this oil signify. Do you think that it is not charity? This we say as searching out what it is; we hazard no precipitate judgment. I will tell you why charity seems to be signified by the oil. The Apostle says, *"I show unto you a way above the rest."* Though I speak with the tongues of men and of Angels, and have not charity, I have become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. This, that is *"charity,"* is *"that way above the rest,"* which is with good reason signified by the oil. For oil swims above all liquids. Pour in water, and pour in oil upon it, the oil will swim above. Pour in oil, pour in water

[14] "The Fifty-Second Homily: On Matthew 25," in *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus imperfectum)*, ed. Thomas C. Oden, trans. James A. Kellerman (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2010), 2: 408.
[15] "The Fifty-Second Homily: On Matthew 25," in *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus imperfectum)*, 408.
[16] The exception to this arrangement is at Strasbourg cathedral, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

> upon it, the oil will swim above. If you keep the usual order, it will be uppermost; if you change the order, it will be uppermost. "*Charity never falls.*"[17]

In this sense, Augustine understands the Virgins to represent the entire Christian faith – both men and women. Augustine also elaborated upon the interpretation of the Virgins as symbols of the senses that Origen had first voiced.[18] For him, the senses could corrupt the Virgins and lead to their downfall. Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) wrote an interpretation similar to Augustine's expressing that the lamps represented the soul and the oil represented charity. With this premise, he argued that the flame then would symbolize a good conscience.[19]

The views of the Church Fathers and other early Christian writers carried weight well into the Middle Ages. Honorius of Autun (d. 1154) approached the parable in a similar manner, believing the Wise lived spiritually, while the Foolish lived corporeally.[20] For him, the Foolish were chaste only in flesh, unlike the Wise who were chaste in body and spirit. He also believed the number of figures in the parable played a symbolic role. To him the number of Wise (five) comprised the Trinity and twin loves. He alternatively

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[17] Augustine, "Sermon 43," in *Sermon on the Mount*. *Harmony of the Gospels*. *Homilies on the Gospels*, ed. Philip Schaff, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1888), 6: 402.

[18] Augustine, "Sermo CCXXVIII," in *Patrologia Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, (Paris, 1844-1891), 39: 2164-2166; Augustine, "Question 59: On the Ten Virgins," in *Eighty Three Different Questions,* trans. D. Mosher, Fathers of the Church (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1982), 70: 108-114.

[19] Caesarius of Arles, "De decem Virginibus," in *Patrologia Latina*, 67:1160. Augustine's interpretation of the parable was also followed by those of other great theologians, such as Gregory the Great and Venerable Bede. Gregory the Great, "De exposition Veteris ac Novi Tetamenti, auctore S. Paterio," in *Patrologia Latina* 79: 1050-1051; Gregory the Great, "Homilia XII," in *Patrologia Latina* 76: 1118-1123; Gregory the Great, "Expositione Novi Testamenti, auctore Alulfo," in *Patrologia Latina* 79: 1168-1170; Venerable Bede, "Scripturas Sacras," in *Patrologia Latina* 92:106.

[20] Honorius of Autun, "'De Sancta Caecilia' of the *Speculum Ecclesia,*" in *Patrologia Latina*, 172: 1027-1030.

read the number five to be the three theological virtues – faith, hope, and charity – combined with purity of body and spirit.

Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1142) believed the Virgins to represent the totality of faith: "ten virgins, they are all those who believe."[21] He espoused Augustine's view that good works differentiate the Wise from the Foolish. For him, the Foolish do not abstain from doing good works, rather they carry them out for the wrong reasons. In a letter to Heloise, Peter Abelard (d. 1142) discussed the link between virtue and hypocrisy and the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and stated that the Foolish "pride themselves on purity of the flesh or an outward show of self denial, and then wither in the fire of temptation."[22]

The parable also appeared in the liturgy, and its interpretations could vary depending on the liturgical context. The parable was often called upon in the liturgy on feasts days dedicated to female virgin saints. For example, the parable was recounted on the feasts of Saint Lucy (December 13) and Saint Agnes (January 21).[23] Pamela Loos-Noji has argued that the Virgins were also incorporated into the Feast of the Purification, a celebration that commemorated the cleansing of the Virgin when she entered the temple forty days after giving birth, and in doing so the Virgins were likened to some degree to

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[21] The English translation is my own. "Decem virgins, sunt universi credentes." Hugh of St. Victor, "Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum," in *Patrologia Latina*, 175: 799-800.

[22] Peter Abelard, "Letter 4," in *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. B. Radice (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), 139.

[23] Ildefonso Schuster, *The Sacramentary: Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal*, trans. A. Levelis-Marke (London: Burnes, Oates and Washbourne, 1924-1930), 3: 310-313 and 3: 363-370.

the Virgin Mary."[24] Despite the parable being a source of inspiration for many exegetical and theological texts for early Christian and medieval theologians, the story was seldom discussed in sermons. Only starting in the fourteenth century, after the explosion of this theme in sculpture, did it become more common in preaching and sermons.

The theme of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins has been a constant for Christian authors throughout time. Yet these authors did not always share the same interpretation of specific elements in the parable. They did, however, most often share the general eschatological reading of the parable, which came to be a main focus in the visual representation of the story.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS IN VISUAL FORM

As there are hundreds of examples of the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in visual form, only select examples will be examined in this section to best contextualize the examples that include a sculpture of the Fürst der Welt.[25] The earliest visual example of the parable, from the first half of the fourth century, is found in the catacomb know as the Coemeterium Ostrianum on the Via Nomentana in Rome (Figure 34). Painted in the center of the lunette in a cubiculum is an image of an orator. To the orator's right there is a scene of four unveiled women banqueting around a table, which has been interpreted as the Wise Virgins at the wedding feast. Reading the figures in this light, the orator could

[24] Loos-Noji, 82-84. See also Joaquim O. Bragança, "A Parábola das virgens na espiritualidade medieval," *Didaskalia* 2 (1972): 113-140.

[25] For comprehensive catalogues of Wise and Foolish Virgins examples in visual form, see Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 193-522; Loos-Noji, 447-485. See also Walter Lehmann, "Die Parable von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen" (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg, 1916), 10-85; Heyne, 62-112.

be seen as the fifth Wise Virgin.[26] It has also been suggested that a fifth figure (perhaps Christ or the fifth wise virgin) once sat at the table, but since the state of the wall painting is so poor one can only surmise.[27] To the orator's left, five unveiled Wise clad in long tunics process toward the center of the composition, each carrying a flaming torch in her right hand. And in her left hand each carries a pail, interpreted as a container for the oil for the torches. Interestingly, in this early representation of the parable the Foolish are absent, and the Wise appear twice. Likewise, the Wise carry flaming torches, not lamps.

Another catacomb wall painting of the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins appears around 370 (Figure 35). At the catacombs of Saint Cyriaca in Rome, a figure of Christ stands in the center of the composition before a door. To his right, the five Wise appear with flamed torches, while to his left behind the door the Foolish stand with unlit torches. These earliest examples of the parable in visual form remain true to the common reading of the parable as a story about preparedness for the end of time, attested to by their location in catacombs, or resting places for the Christian dead during late Antiquity.

From the fifth century until the twelfth century, the parable continued to be a topic of discussion among theologians, as we have seen, but its presence in visual culture was rare. Only twelve examples of the parable in visual form survive from this period, in media from manuscript illuminations to textiles and in geography from Rome to Edinburgh.[28] It was not until the mid-twelfth century that the theme was revived in

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[26] It is interesting to note that the Wise appear unveiled here, since the veil came to be one of their physical attributes, as a garment that signified modesty and spirituality; yet unbound hair is also sometimes as signifier of a young woman, i.e., a virgin. This will be discussed further later in this chapter.
[27] Heyne, 80.
[28] See catalogue in Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 193-522.

France and became a staple on sculpted portals on church facades. By the thirteenth century the theme moved eastward and multiplied exponentially in art in the German-speaking realm.

In the twelfth century, at first the theme was relegated to lesser, secondary positions, such as archivolts and doorposts, on French portals, and thus often appeared in relatively small scale. The earliest example of the parable from this period is on the west facade of the church of Saint-Pierre at Aulnay, from around 1130-1140 (Figures 36-37).[29] The Virgins appear in the second outermost archivolt on the central portal arranged around Christ directly in the center of the archivolt.[30] The Wise appear to Christ's right holding their lamps, while to Christ's left stand the Foolish with empty lamps facing downward. Between Christ and the Foolish a closed door underscores these Virgins' unpreparedness and denial of entry to the marriage. Distinguished here from their wise counterparts, the Foolish are recognizable by their gestures, resting their faces in the palms of their hands as a sign of despair and mourning, and by their empty lamps.[31]

We note here that the torch that had appeared in the earliest depictions of the parable as an indicator of each Virgin's nature has completely vanished and has been replaced by the lamp. Körkel-Hinkfoth has suggested that this change could be attributed

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[29] From this period there are fifty-one known sculptural examples on French soil, ranging from small churches in the south of France to grand cathedrals in the north. For a complete list of French sculptural examples, see Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 195.

[30] The innermost archivolt of the central portal of the west facade illustrates the Lamb of God surrounded by angels. The next archivolt represents the virtues and vices, and this is followed by the archivolt with the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The outermost archivolt (now in fragmentary form) portrays the Signs of the Zodiac and Labors of the Months.

[31] Mosche Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 18.

to translations of the Bible.[32] In the Greek version of the Bible, "flame" was the term for the object that each Virgin held, whether or not it was lit, but when the Bible was translated into Latin, interpretation of "flame" became fluid since in Latin "flame" could mean "flame," as well as "lamp."

Of the dozen or so earliest examples of the parable, the example at Saint-Denis was perhaps the most important since its portal program as a whole exerted a great amount of influence on subsequent sculpted portals.[33] Abbot Suger's building campaign for the abbey church included a total rebuilding of the west facade, completed in 1140. Although the portal was badly damaged during the French Revolution, the basic iconographic program remains or can be reconstructed, and in the doorposts of the central portal of Abbot Suger's tri-portal west facade he chose to illustrate the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Figures 38-41). Suger's placement of the figures is creative and appropriate: he positioned the Wise on the left doorpost and the Foolish on the right. This arrangement recalls the importance of the door in the parable, which could be interpreted as the Gates to Paradise. This reading is underscored by the recognition that the portal doors into many churches, both medieval and modern, are thought to be the barrier between earthly space (the exterior) and heavenly space (the interior).

In addition to the reading of the figures as suggested by their liminal placement on either side of the door, Suger's representation of the Wise and Foolish Virgins speaks directly to the Last Judgment scene located above the door on the heavily restored

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[32] Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 102-107.

[33] This issue will be discussed at length in conjunction with the changing nature of portal programs in Chapter Four.

tympanum. Reading the Wise and Foolish Virgins in the doorposts with the Last Judgment tympanum in mind, the eschatological interpretation of the parable would have undoubtedly been amplified. Loos-Noji finds that the relationship between the subjects in the tympanum and doorposts mirrors that of the function of architectural elements: architecturally and functionally, the doorposts support the lintel and tympanum.[34] Developing on this, the doorposts of the Wise and Foolish Virgins support the story of the Last Judgment. This play on the themes and their architectural placement did not go unnoticed and was employed by subsequent designers and sculptors. It was adopted at Sens cathedral around 1200, Notre-Dame at Paris around 1220-1230, and Amiens cathedral around 1220-1235. These later portals have a very similar setup to Saint-Denis; what differs, however, is the subject matter of the tympanum and archivolts. As elaborate and complex as the French portal programs were during the parable's resurgence in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the theme only ever occupied small, secondary spaces, mostly in archivolts and doorposts, and its interpretation was largely dependent on the surrounding context.

When the theme made its way into German-speaking lands, however, it began to take on increased independence, prominence, and importance in sculpted portal programs. The earliest example of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in sculptural form in German-speaking lands is at Basel cathedral. On the north transept portal, or the Galluspforte (Portal of Saint Gall), at Basel cathedral, a sculptural

[34] Loos-Noji, 299-300.

representation of the parable appears on the lintel from about 1180 (Figures 42-43).[35] The Wise stand on the left half of the lintel with their hair modestly covered by wimples that fasten around the chin and wear loose, long garments, fashion that was associated with female monasticism and the ideals of modesty, purity, and simplicity.[36] They hold their lamps high and carefully so as to protect the flames, some of which remain visible. Christ, at the center, greets the Wise on his right and bestows upon them a gesture of benediction. Similar to the representation at Saint-Pierre at Aulnay, the Foolish find a closed door between Christ and themselves. The Foolish Virgin closest to the door attempts to open it, to no avail. Shut out, the Foolish stand with their extinguished lamps upside down and are left to consider their imprudent impulses. The Foolish are distinguished further from their wise counterparts by their garments. Unlike the Wise, the Foolish wear fashionable garments with excessive trains that appear immodestly fitted across the chest, and their heads are uncovered.

Located below the tympanum, which depicts a scene of Christ enthroned with Saints Peter and Paul, flanked by the donor holding a model of the church, his wife, and an unidentified figure, the lintel of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins occupies a

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[35] For more on the Galluspforte, see Maurice Moullet, *Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters* (Leipzig: Holbein-Verlag, 1938); Werner Weisbach, "Der Skulpturenschmuck der Basler Galluspforte im Rahmen romanischer Portalprogramme," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1941): 110-130; François Maurer-Kuhn, *Galluspforte. Querhausportal des Basler Münsters* (Bern: Schweizerische Kunstführer, 1990); Regine Körkel-Hinkfoth, "Sinnbild des Jüngsten Gerichts. Darstellungen der Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen am Basler Münster," *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler* 44 (1993): 309-322; Bruno Boerner, "Überlegungen zum Programm der Basler Galluspforte," *Kunst+Architectur in der Schweiz* 45 (1994): 238-246; Hans Rudolf Meier and Dorothea Schwinn, eds., *Schwelle zum Paradies. Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters* (Basel: Schwabe, 2002).

[36] The wimple was associated with moral women as it interfered with speaking, laughing, and grand facial movements. Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 152.

central, eye-catching position on the portal that demands the attention of the viewer. In the jambs to the right and left of the portal stand the four Evangelists. On either side of them, on the walls, appear three niches, each occupied with one of the Acts of Charity (Matthew 25: 34-46). Large sculptures of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (?) stand atop the niches. Capping these freestanding figures are relief sculptures of angels that sound their horns as the Resurrected near.

Interestingly, there is no Last Judgment scene to accompany the angels and Resurrected; rather this is implied, and thus understanding the relationship between the Last Judgment and the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins would require preconditioning at this portal, as the Virgins now stand devoid of the eschatological components. In addition to appearing independent of a Last Judgment scene, more effort has been made to distinguish the Wise from the Foolish. Not only do composition and attributes (lamps) indicate their nature, but now dress and veils do as well.

A similar representation of the parable from around 1230 appears below the tympanum on the lintel of the inner tower porch at Saints-Pierre-et-Paul at Eguisheim, a city situated just forty miles north of Basel (Figure 44). Here the Wise stand in orderly fashion holding their lamps before Christ and an open door. On the right side of the lintel stand the Foolish behind a closed door. Here the Foolish appear disorganized through their mannerisms: they hold their empty lamps downward, turn to each other for comfort, and press their hands against their chests to convey distress. The Foolish are further distinguished from their Wise counterparts by their contemporary garb and fashionable head coverings. The Wise, on the other hand, wear classical garb and headscarves. In a

similar fashion to the Galluspforte at Basel, the portal at Eguisheim illustrates Christ enthroned in the tympanum, flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, directly above the lintel of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.[37]

Around the same time as the Eguisheim sculpted portal, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins appears further east in the choir of Magdeburg cathedral around 1230 (Figures 45-47). Ten small sculptures of the Virgins were originally intended as imposts on the portal program on the west facade, but then around 1320 they were moved inside and inserted into the wall of the gallery level of the choir, where they remain today.[38] Here the Wise are clearly distinguished from the Foolish: the Wise wear classical togas, carry lamps, and veil their hair, while the Foolish wear contemporary clothing, leave their hair uncovered, and hold empty lamps downward. The narrative of the parable is more divided in its current installation, since the sculptures fill niches around the entire choir and there is no figure of Christ or a symbolic door.

The treatment of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in German-speaking lands, as begun at Basel, Eguisheim, and in the choir of Magdeburg, was revolutionized by the presentation of the Virgins on the north transept portal of Magdeburg cathedral around

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[37] Images of Christ enthroned dominated the focal point of sculpted portals, more specifically the tympanum along the Upper Rhine, although this would change as theology changed, as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

[38] For speculation on this never-completed, French-style portal at Magdeburg, see Adolf Goldschmidt, "Französische Einflüsse in der frühgotischen Skulptur Sachsens," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 20 (1899): 285-300; Peter Cornelius Claussen, "Zentraum, Peripherie, Transperipherie: Überlegungen zum Erfolg des gotischen Figurenportals an den Beispielen Chartres, Sangüesa, Magdeburg, Bamberg und den Westportalen des Domes S. Lorenzo in Genua," in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäische Skulptur im 12.-13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Beck and Kirsten Hengevoss-Dürkop (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 665-687.

1250 (Figures 48-50).[39] The Virgins at Magdeburg are the first to appear in large scale (ranging from 122 to 130 centimeters in height) and also the first to occupy the central spaces of an enclosed portal; this portal also is the first to feature mainly women.

Scholars have long observed the highly expressive nature of the Magdeburg Virgins' emotions and gestures (Figures 51-52). The Wise stand to the left of the door, each with a wide smile and holding her lamp upright. Two hook their fingers through their mantle straps, "a gesture associated with highest levels of courtly refinement."[40] The physical features and contemporary, courtly clothing of the Wise are nearly identical.[41] Each is, however, differentiated by subtle movements, gestures, and expressions, all of which suggest respectable refinement and modesty. The Foolish stand to the right of the portal door and share the same physiognomy and contemporary

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[39] Jaqueline Jung has most recently considered the Magdeburg Virgins on the north transept portal in her provocative article that considers the Virgins' form, style, iconography, expressions, and gestures in relation to contemporary theatrical practices and courtly norms. See Jaqueline E. Jung, "Dynamic Bodies and the Beholder's Share: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Magdeburg Cathedral," in *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter*, ed. Kristin Marek et al. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006), 135–160. See also Walter Paatz, "Die Magdeburger Plastik um die Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrburch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 46 (1925): 91-120; Lottlisa Behling, "Die klugen und törichten Jungfrauen zu Magdeburg: Nachträge und Ergänzungen zur Erforschung der Magdeburger Skulpturen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 (1954): 19-42; Fritz Bellmann, "Die klugen und törichten Jungfrauen und der Lettner des Magdeburger Doms," in *Festschrift für Harald Keller zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Martin Freiherr von Erffa and Elisabeth Herget (Darmstadt: E. Roether, 1963): 87-110. The original placement of these Virgins at Magdeburg has been the subject of much debate. It has been suggested that the figures were originally intended for a never-completed portal on the west facade, a now-lost choir screen, or on the north transept portal (the main entrance at the time). Of the three suggestions, most scholars believe they were originally intended for the north portal. However, the original placement and programming of the Virgins on the north transept portal differed from their current arrangement, which reflects changes that were undertaken during the first third of the fourteenth century. Jung, 141-142n20.

[40] Jung, 147.

[41] All the Magdeburg Virgins wear clothing that conforms to several courtly trends of the time: belted dresses, a cloak fastened by a strap with two brooches, headdress, and long, curled hair.

clothing as the Wise.[42] This physiognomic sameness is an noteworthy choice on the sculptor's part for, as we have seen, to this point the Wise and Foolish had been distinguished by clothing – classical or contemporary – or by facial expressions, and, of course, by the lamps. This sameness of physical features and clothing of the Virgins might suggest that these figures could be anyone and that material and worldly things are not the path to Salvation, but rather spirituality and good deeds are, which in turn would reinforce the thought of early Church authors. The distinguishing features of the moral character of the Virgins at Magdeburg, aside from their physical divide in the space and lamps, are highly developed facial expressions and gestures.

The Foolish exhibit grief to an extreme degree, unlike anything seen before in depictions of the parable. The highly expressive nature of their gestures and expressions cannot be missed nor denied. Nearly bursting at the seams, the Foolish cry as they hold their heads in their hands and wipe their tears with their mantles and cloaks in attempts to grapple with the fate that has just been dealt them. Jacqueline Jung observes that:

> the Wise gaze boldly at viewers – and at their sorrowful counterparts – from eyes crinkled into narrow slits by the upward pressure of their full cheeks, the energy of their grins tempered by calm, finely arched eyebrows and smooth foreheads. The eyes of the Foolish by contrast, seem barely able to see, so heavily are they squeezed together between tear-swollen lids; their lips pull downward, echoing the concave curves of the furrowed eyebrows, and their dimpled chins appear to tremble.[43]

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[42] Olga Valentynivna Trokhimenko has linked the garments of the Virgins with contemporary representations of aristocratic women in Germany who appear, much like the Virgins, as young, rich, beautiful, and noble. Olga Valentynivna Trokhimenko, "Keeping Up Appearances: Women's Laughter and the Performance of Virtue in Medieval German Discourse" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2006), 308-309.
[43] Jung, 151-152.

Many scholars have been content to label such expressed emotions as examples of a German preference for heightened emotion, but there is much more to them than that. As Jung has noted, the highly expressive and almost excessive gestures and expressions of the Foolish at Magdeburg can be associated with "highly stylized performances of feelings."[44] That is to say, their gestures and expressions were consistent with choreographed expressions of emotion that one could see, for example, in theater or funeral processions of that time.[45] In fact, the description of the reaction of the Foolish to their bar by the bridegroom in the *Zehnjungfrauenspiel* (Play of the Ten Virgins) comes quite close to the physical gestures and expressions chiseled into stone at Magdeburg. In the play the Foolish cry: "For we are crying so much as there is water in the sea" and "Now scream and pull out your hair."[46]

The degree of emotion displayed by the Magdeburg Virgins was unprecedented in visual examples of the parable, nor could it ever be matched. The expressive nature and related moral distinction of the Magdeburg Virgins was followed at Strasbourg to a certain degree. The Magdeburg Virgins "defied both text and tradition" by holding the key moral distinction of each Virgin in her body, gesture, and expression, not through clothing, lamps, or a simple arrangement to the right or left of a door or Christ.[47] Many of the grand gestures that the Foolish display that indicate mourning and despair – tearing of the hair and palm to face – are based on antique models and convention that were not

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[44] Jung, 150.
[45] See Jung, 153-155.
[46] Trokhimenko, 304 and 315. For more on the *Zehnjungfrauenspiel*, see Renate Amstutz, Ludus de decem virginibus*: Recovery of the Sung Liturgical Core of the* Thuringian Zehnjungfrauenspiel (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002).
[47] Jung, 136.

uncommon anatomic and artistic formulae in the Middle Ages and can be found, albeit in much more subdued form, in earlier visual examples of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.[48]

Perhaps the most shocking element of the Magdeburg Virgins is not the extreme grief and mourning exhibited by the Foolish but the manifestation of joy and the happy demeanor of the Wise. Magdeburg is an anomaly in this sense; no Virgins prior to or after their creation ever displayed rejoicing to the degree that they do.[49] In fact, such exaggerated expressions were discouraged in the Middle Ages and were warned against by patristic writers. Theologians often understood female laughter and smiling as incompatible with virtue, which of course the Wise were supposed to possess. This tension is underscored by the importance of the women's smile in courtly love, a culture that stood in opposition to the Church. Explanations for this immoderate display of joy have remained largely unexplored, though Olga Trokhimenko has suggested that such an exhibition might reflect the "true joy and laughter only possible for the Saved in Paradise."[50]

Considering these figures with the rest of the north transept portal, it is clear that the Virgins took center stage; everything surrounding them was meant to be read in relation to them. The tympanum at the center of the portal shows the twelve apostles on

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[48] For more on gesture in the Middle Ages and its classical roots, see Barasch, *Gestures of Despair;* Clifford Davidson, ed., *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001). Earlier examples of the Foolish grieving include the church of Saint-Pierre at Aulnay (1130-1140), Saint-Étienne at Toulouse (1125-1150), Notre-Dame-en-Vaux at Châlons-sur-Marne (ca. 1180), Saint-Pierre at Pont-l Abbé-d'Arnould (late twelfth century), and Notre-Dame de l'Assomption at Fenioux (ca. 1175). For more examples see Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 114-115.

[49] Only one Wise Virgin, the third from the portal door, displays a modest smile.

[50] Trokhimenko, 315.

the lower portion around the body of Mary, which is raised into heaven by two angels (Figure 53). At the top of the tympanum sits Christ, enthroned, holding the soul of the Virgin. The connection between the Ascension of the Virgin and the Wise and Foolish Virgins may not seem as obvious as, say for example, a Last Judgment scene at first, but it is nonetheless relevant and can be read and interpreted in a meaningful manner. Revisiting biblical exegesis on the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, theologians often understood the Virgin Mary to be the Queen of Wise Virgins, and reading the portal through this lens, the Virgin Mary was the ideal model: do as she does and you will also be rewarded by ascension into heaven. Similarly, the placement of the Virgins in the jambs, closest to the viewer, in *this* world, would seem to remind the viewer to behave wisely before the day of judgment, which the tympanum suggests was to come.

In total, there were ten sculptural examples of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in German-speaking lands, some of which have been discussed above, prior to the creation of the ensemble at Strasbourg. The examples were found on church facades in the following cities in chronological order: Basel, Magdeburg (now in the choir), Eguisheim, Trier, Wessobrunn, Magdeburg (north transept portal) Bremen, Tholey, Minden, and Paderborn. Aside from the north transept portal Virgins at Magdeburg, the Bremen Virgins from around 1250-1260 are the only other near-life-size sculptures that predate Strasbourg. The Strasbourg Virgins take this new interest in the theme in monumental sculpture to the next level by the inclusion of one of the protagonists of this dissertation: the Fürst der Welt. But before considering the Strasbourg program, I would

like to consider the plays of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, which doubtless exerted some level of influence over the images under discussion here.

PLAYS OF THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS

The oldest recorded play featuring the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is known as *Sponsus*, or *The Bridegroom.* This ninety-two-line play is preserved in a manuscript that once belonged to the abbey of Saint-Martial at Limoges but is now housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[51] Although the manuscript dates to around 1196-1199, the play was likely composed in the mid-eleventh century. *Sponsus* is unusual in that it is bilingual, containing lines in both Latin and Provençal. The dialect makes understanding the play's origins problematic "since the Provençal dialect [of the play] points to a location some fifty miles away, and dramatic records as yet uncovered do not record any productions at all in the area [around Limoges]."[52] Regardless of the uncertainty regarding the origins of the play and whether it was ever produced at Saint-Martial, it is still a remarkable artifact attesting to the growing presence of the parable in medieval life. The play takes inspiration from the parable, as well as from liturgical works on the theme. There are, however, some divergences from the parable.

Following the prologue, the narrator, Ecclesia, announces the arrival of the bridegroom, who appears as the resurrected Christ:

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[51] MS lat. 1139, fol. 53r-55v, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. For more on *Sponsus,* see E. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (Paris: Librairie Archéologique de Victor Didron, 1852), 126; Lucien-Paul Thomas, *Le 'Sponsus': Mystère des vierges sages et vierges folles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951); William L. Smoldon, *Sponsus (The Bridegroom): An Acting Version of an 11th-Century Mystère founded on the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972). For an overview of the scholarship on *Sponsus*, see Loos-Noji, 85-101.

[52] Clifford Davidson, "On the Uses of Iconographic Study: The Example of the *Sponsus* from St. Martial of Limoges," *Comparative Drama* 13 (1979-1980): 302.

Here is the bridegroom, who is Christ – keep watch, maidens! –
He in whose advent mankind takes joy and we will take joy.[53]

The narrator's announcement of the arrival of the bridegroom is echoed by Archangel Gabriel, but this time in Provençal:

Listen, maidens, to what we shall tell you:
Go forth at once when we command you to –
Attend a bridegroom (Saviour Jesus is his name):
Don't fall asleep!
…
And he has risen! Scripture affirms it.
I am Gabriel: he has sent me here.
Watch for him, for now he will soon be near!
Don't fall asleep![54]

It is imaginable that during the performance of the opening scene the Virgins – Wise and Foolish – appeared sleeping and that after the announcement of the narrator and the Archangel Gabriel, the Wise awoke, leaving the Foolish to continue their slumber to an extent. This, however, is only speculation since there are very few indications in the text as to how the play was performed and choreographed on stage. Gabriel's announcement is followed by verses and then a refrain sung by both the Wise and

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[53] Peter Dronke, trans. and ed., *Nine Medieval Latin Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 14.
"Adest sponsus, / que est Christus – vigilate, virgins! –
pro adventu cuius gaudent et gaudebunt homines"

[54] Dronke, 15-17.
"Piet, virgins, aiso que vos dirum:
aiseet presen que vos comandarum –
atendet un espos, Iesu salvaire a nom:
Gaire no i / dormet!
…
E resors es! La scriptura o dii.
Gabriels soi, eu <m'a> trames aici;
Atendet lo, que ia venra praici!
Gaire <no i / dormet!>"

Foolish. Singing in Latin strophes and Provençal refrains, the Foolish ask the Wise for oil because they spilled theirs:

> We maidens who are approaching you
> Have spilt our oil carelessly:
> …
> Share with us the light from your lamps,
> Take pity on us – we have been foolish –
> Lest we be driven from the gates
> When the bridegroom calls you to your places.
> We, wretched in our grief, have slept too long![55]

The Wise reject the request of the Foolish and send them off to a merchant to buy oil. The oil merchant does not sell the Foolish oil for some reason, and instead sends them back to the Wise and tells them to ask again and, most importantly, to hurry because the bridegroom is coming. The Foolish hurry back and look for the flame of the bridegroom, but they are too late. Christ says:

> Amen I say, I know you not, for you have no light:
> Those who lose it must go far from the threshold of this court.
> Away with you, wretches, away with you, luckless ones:
> For ever more suffering shall be your lot:
> Into hell you shall now be led![56]

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[55] Dronke, 16 -17.
"Nos virgins que ad vos venimus
negligenter leum fudimus:
…
Partimini lumen lampadibus,
Pie sitis insipientibus,
Pulse ne nos simus a foribus
Cum vos sponsus vocet in sedibus.
Dole<ntas, chaitivas, trop i avem dormit!>"

[56] Dronke, 20-21.
"Amen dico, vos ignosco, nam caretis lumine
quod qui perdunt procul pergunt huius aule limine.
Alet, chaitivas, alet, malaüreas:
A tot iors mais vos so penas liureas!
en efern ora seret meneias!"

The play ends with the narrator suggesting their fate:

> Now let the demons take them,
> And let them be hurled into hell.[57]

From this brief summary of the play it is clear that the plot sticks to that of the parable with some notable exceptions. First, the Archangel Gabriel makes an appearance in the play but is completely absent from the parable. Considering the eschatological reading of the parable one would think that if any angel were to be included it might be Archangel Michael, who traditionally appears weighing souls in scenes of the Last Judgment. It does not seem, however, that Gabriel's inclusion is random or irrelevant since his role in the Annunciation could be compared to his announcement of the bridegroom or Christ.

The oil merchant is another character added in *Sponsus*. No character even remotely similar appears in the actual parable. Although his role in the play is small, it is nonetheless thoughtful since it reiterates the unpreparedness of the Foolish and the coming of the bridegroom. Demons are the final addition to the cast. Although the demons have no lines, the last lines of the play might suggest that such characters were part of the play.

The suggestion of guilt in the play is also new. In the drama, the Foolish have the guilt of sleep that they did to themselves, and this is not present in the parable. Likewise, in the biblical parable, the lamps of the Foolish are empty, and in the play that is not the

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[57] Dronke, 20-21.
"Modo accipiant eas demones
et precipitentur in infernum."

case. It is rather the spilling of the oil, as well as their carelessness in oversleeping, that causes the rejection of the Foolish by the bridegroom. It is not entirely clear why the play veers from the biblical parable in the inclusion of figures and different emphases, but it would seem that these changes suggest a flexibility and willingness to alter the text to allow for more dramatic effects. The spilling of the oil or the entrance of the demons, for example, would translate well into theater and keep the audience engaged and ultimately satisfied. Peter Dronke has also suggested that the descent of the Foolish into hellfire at the end of the play could have been amplified by arranging a fire at the foot of the stairs leading from the sanctuary to the crypt.[58] And thus, at its best *Sponsus* was a gloss on the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins that conveyed the essential message of the parable in an amplified, more dramatic manner for the audience.

Nothing is recorded concerning how the play was actually performed, by whom, for whom, or when or where it was performed. Despite these uncertainties, from the few things we do know about the play we can make some assumptions. To the untrained eye at first glance, this play would appear to be an ordinary liturgical drama. However, because the play contains text in both Latin and Provençal, it was probably not a liturgical drama in the traditional sense performed for and by clerics or monks in a monastic or exclusively ecclesiastical setting.[59] Rather, the inclusion of Provençal would suggest that the audience, and perhaps even the actors, were at least in part lay.

[58] Dronke, 7.
[59] Dronke, 7.

The performance of *Sponsus* is not associated with any particular feast day, although some scholars have suggested linking it with the first Sunday of Advent, quoting the words of Isidore of Seville (d. 636):

> It is fitting that the congregation of the faithful should wait up for the advent of the radiant bridegroom with lights ready kindled; lest at the wedding feast he refuse the company of those he finds sleeping beneath the shadow of old sins…let us therefore be like the wise virgins and not like those foolish ones. [60]

Richard Axton has suggested the link between the parable and play and Easter vigils.[61] Although there are no particular ties between the play or parable and Easter, there are strong links between the events in the play and Easter, as suggested by Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390):

> The lamps that you will light are the sacraments (*mysterion)* of the resplendent procession of heaven with which we will go before the bridegroom, souls virginal and respendent, with burning lamps of faith. Let us not allow ourselves by negligence to become drowsy, so as to let Him for Whom we are waiting go by us when He comes unexpectedly, and let us not remain without sustenance and without oil, for fear of being excluded from the bridal chamber. There is no room there for the man who is proud and negligent, nor for him who is clad in a stained garment and not in a wedding-robe.[62]

The chronicles of Johann Rothe mentions the next play about the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, and dates the performance to May 4, 1321, in Eisenach in

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[60] Richard Axton, *European Drama of the Early Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1974), 101. Scholars who associate the play with the Advent include Félix Clément, "Liturgie, musique et drame du moyen age," *Annales archéologiques* 7 (1847): 313; Marius Sepet, *Le drame chrétien au moyen age* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1878); W. Cloetta, "Le mystère de l'époux," *Romania* 22 (1893): 177; 113; Edmund K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (London: Oxford Press, 1963); Thomas, 50-58.

[61] Axton, 101. This opinion has also been voiced by H. Morf, "Das liturgische Drama von den fünf klugen und den fünf thörichten Jungfrauen (*Sponsus*)," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 22 (1989): 390-391; Davidson, 48.

[62] Davidson, 305.

Thüringen to commemorate the triumphal exit of Landgraf Friedrich der Friedige.[63] The original play no longer survives but it was probably similar to preexisting plays. The oldest extant German play, the *Ludus de decem virginibus* (or *Mühlhäuser Zehnjungfrauenspiel*), dates from around 1350-1375 and is preserved in a manuscript that is now housed in Mülhausen in Thüringen.[64] This version is quite similar to a younger one in Darmstadt, the *Darmstädter Zehnfrauenspiel*, which dates to 1428.[65] Several other plays of this theme from the fifteenth century and from elsewhere in Europe are beyond the scope of this study, but they highlight the growing and spreading interest in this theme and its captivating and performative nature.[66] The *Erfurter Moralität* is one of these later examples from around 1448 and is worth mentioning because it is much lengthier (17,500 verses) and thus must have been performed over several days. But what is perhaps most interesting about this particular play is that it dealt with different moralizing parables, such as the Wise and Foolish Virgins, as well as isolated moralizing figures such as *Frau Schande* (Lady Shame) and, interestingly, Frau Welt.[67]

Like all medieval dramas, there was a lesson to be learned at the core of these entertaining plays derived from the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Despite

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[63] Rochus von Liliencron, ed., *Düringische Chronik des Johann Rothe* (Jena: Friedrich Frommann, 1859). 547-548.

[64] MS 60/20, Stadtarchiv, Mülhausen. For a critical bibliography on this play, see Rolf Bergmann, *Katalog der deutschsprachigen geistlichen Spiele und Marienklagen des Mittelalters* (Munich: Beck Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1986), 255-257.

[65] See Bergmann, 90-92.

[66] For other plays and processions featuring the Wise and Foolish Virgins, see Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen,* 119-163.

[67] See Bergmann, 87-89. For more on the *Erfurter Moralität,* see Hansjürgen Linke, "Die Komposition der Erfurter Moralität," in *Medium Aevum deutsch. Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur des hohen und späten Mittelalters. Festschrift für Kurt Ruh zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Dietrich Huschenbett et al (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1979), 215-236; Hans-Gert Roloff, *Spiel von Frauen Ehre und Schande: Erfurter Moralität*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag, 2013).

veering from certain details in the parable and the amplification of others, the goal of the plays was to remind the audience how to behave properly in order to be prepared for the end of time and to live a good Christian life. I believe that this particular parable translated well into medieval drama and that might be one of the reasons it withstood the test of time. This popularity and vitality, however, is most certainly attributable, in part, to the amplification and dramatization of certain elements and actions. These enhancements helped to create a memorable medieval religious drama. The augmentations were, however, not just confined to dramatic adaptations of the parable, for at the most basic level the Fürst der Welt is just that – an augmentation – albeit in artistic form.

THE *FÜRST DER WELT* AND THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS IN VISUAL FORM

As we have observed, the Fürst der Welt does not appear in the biblical account of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, nor does any other negative counterpart to Christ (or the bridegroom) appear to be associated with the Foolish Virgins. In biblical parable there is a cast of eleven: the bridegroom, five Wise Virgins, and five Foolish Virgins. No more, no fewer. A "Fürst der Welt" does appear elsewhere in the Bible, however. This Prince of the World (I will use the English to denote the figure in the Bible) appears three times in the Gospel of John: "Now is the judgment out of the world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (John 12:31); "I will not now speak many things with you. For the prince of this world cometh, and in me he hath not any thing" (John 14:30); "And of judgment: because the prince of this world is already judge" (John 16:11).

The relationship between the Fürst der Welt in sculptural form and that in the Bible is not entirely literal. The Fürst der Welt shares his name with the Prince of the World cited in the Bible and perhaps a common worldly nature, but that is the extent of the readily visible similarity. Nowhere in the Bible is there a description of this figure that would help link the biblical mentions with the sculptures. It is important to remind ourselves that the application of the name "Fürst der Welt" to the sculptures at issue in this study is a modern development. There are no medieval descriptions that identify the male sculptures at issue in this study as the "Fürst der Welt." As discussed in the Introduction, it was modern scholars who first bestowed such a name upon the sculptures. The name, however, is neither unjustified nor inappropriate.

The issue of gender as it relates to the shared iconography of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt is worth nothing. Sculptors of the earliest sculptures of the Fürst der Welt certainly looked to the textual allegories of Frau Welt, directly or indirectly, for inspiration. And if we recall, one of the most famous poets writing about Frau Welt was active in Strasbourg and Basel, sites of two of the earliest sculptures of the Fürst der Welt, further suggesting that the Frau Welt allegory was known about to some extent beyond the courtly culture circuit. Why then did the sculptors at Strasbourg, Basel, and Freiburg include the Fürst der Welt and not a sculpture of Frau Welt in the programs of the Wise and Foolish Virgins? As the two allegories shared a similar message and iconography, I argue that the choice to include the male Fürst der Welt at these early sites was deliberate and one that helped sharpen the moral distinction in the parable group, as will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Similarly, the choice of the Frau

Welt sculpture at Worms cathedral is fitting in that it appears within a larger group of female allegories; including the Fürst der Welt with Faith, Charity, and Synagoga would have been an oddity.[68]

Whereas visual examples of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins appeared all across medieval Europe, although they were concentrated in certain areas and in specific media, the Fürst der Welt appears in two geographic clusters – the Upper Rhine and Bavaria – and only during a short, roughly forty-year period. Six sculptures of the Fürst der Welt are known; they will be treated here as case studies in chronological order.

At the center of each discussion will be the following questions: What were the circumstances surrounding the construction of the building, facade or portal on which a sculpture of the Fürst der Welt appears? What was the aim of the iconographer or programmer for the spaces as a whole? Why include the Fürst der Welt? And what does he add or contribute?

As the histories, documents, and sources of some cities and buildings are richer than others, certain sculptures will be treated at greater length than others, and an overall emphasis has been placed on the examples along the Upper Rhine (Strasbourg, Basel, and Freiburg), as they are the earliest and played a pivotal role in the history of this figure. Furthermore, these examples, along with that at Worms, appear on sculpted portals that were the only major building projects in the Upper Rhine in the later thirteenth century.

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[68] The gender difference might also be accounted for etymologically. Whereas in Latin "world" is masculine, in German "world" is feminine. Both allegories in sculptural form seem to have been chosen deliberately to enhance the immediate context in which they appear and amplify the moral distinction.

From the following discussions of the cities and buildings, I hope to paint a clearer picture of the contexts in which the Fürst der Welt sculptures emerged and highlight some similarities that will be elaborated on more thoroughly in the final chapters of this dissertation. I reach a conclusion that these figures are not random and superficial images pasted onto building facades; rather they are thoughtfully crafted figures used to address and treat larger concerns. This is not to say that similar concerns did not exist elsewhere; they most certainly did. The issues were not, however, dealt with in such a unique and visual manner.

STRASBOURG CATHEDRAL

The figure of the Fürst der Welt at Strasbourg cathedral is regarded as the oldest and most refined sculpture of this subject; it dates to around 1280 (Figures 5-6).[69] The cathedral itself is unique in both its architecture and sculpture; it is a fusion of the recently imported Gothic style of the Île-de-France with local Alsatian and German preferences, such as for material and themes. This artistic blend parallels and reflects the city's multinational location on the border between France and the Holy Roman Empire.

The cathedral, as one sees it today, is a product of mainly the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although its bishopric and the building history date back much

[69] Dating is an issue with all of the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt and especially for those along the Upper Rhine. As the construction projects in Strasbourg, Basel, and Freiburg overlapped and were never fluid or continuous – building stopped and started repeatedly – the dating of these figures, and more importantly, which came first, has often been an issue for debate. The chronology of these construction projects is not the central focus of my study, and I will follow the most-widely accepted chronology that places Strasbourg as the first portal to be built, followed by Basel, and then Freiburg. Achim Hubel, "Das Hauptportal: Zwei Meister, Zwei Stile und die Frage nach den Werkstätten," in *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, ed. Hans-Rudolf Meier and Dorthea Schwinn Schürmann (Basel: Schwabe, 2011), 138-139.

further (Figures 54-55).[70] The current building takes inspiration from the cathedral of Bishop Wernher, a powerful cleric who ascended to the episcopal office in 1002 and who built a new cathedral around 1015.[71] After a series of fires, construction to build a new cathedral to replace that of Wernher's building began around 1180. Construction was undertaken during a transitional and experimental period in architectural style. While the choir and crossing were completed in the Romanesque style, a style deeply rooted in Germany at this point, by the early part of the thirteenth century the architecture began to reflect the new Gothic style.

The construction of the south portal of Strasbourg illustrates quite aptly the new Gothic style that began to infuse the established Romanesque tradition along the Upper Rhine.[72] For example, the sculpture and the double rose windows on the south portal look to French examples, specifically the cathedrals at Chartres and Sens (Figure 56).[73] Likewise, the famous sculptures adorning the "Angel Pillar" in the south transept exude a

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[70] The first bishop of Strasbourg, Amandus, was mentioned at the Cologne Council of 346 and at the Sardinia Council of 347. It was not, however, until 496 that the first cathedral was built. It was modest in scale. Scholarship on Strasbourg cathedral, its architecture, building history, and art, is abundant. See, for example, Georg Dehio, *Das Strassburger Münster* (Munich: R. Piper, 1922); Otto Schmitt, *Gotische Skulpturen des Strassburger Münsters* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Anst, 1924); Hans Haug et al., *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Dernières Nouvelles, 1957); Willibald Sauerländer, *Von Sens bis Strassburg. Ein Beitrag zu kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966); Roland Recht, *Das Strassburger Münster* (Stuttgart: Verlag Müller & Schindler, 1971); Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: Arthaud, 1972); Barbara Schock-Werner, "Das Strassburger Münster im 15. Jahrhundert. Stilistische Entwicklung und Hüttenorganisation eines Bürger-Doms" (PhD diss., Universität Köln, 1981); Benoît van den Bossche, *Strasbourg: La cathédrale* (Paris: Zodiaque, 2001); Jean Wirth, "La chronologie de la nef et jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 27 (2006): 129-146; Sabine Bengel, *Das Straßburger Münster: Sein Ostteile und die Südquerhauswerkstatt* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2011).

[71] On Bishop Wernher's cathedral, see Hans Reinhardt, "La cathédral de l'évêque Wernher," *Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* 2 (1932): 39-62; Reinhardt, *La cathédral de Strasbourg,* 35-45.

[72] More on the Gothic portal and its progression throughout time and geography will be discussed in Chapter Four.

[73] See Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140-1270*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), 441-443.

sense of grace and elegance that could be compared to the jamb figures on the north transept portal at Chartres (Figure 57).[74] Construction on the nave, which began after the choir and south portal were completed, started around 1240 and looked to the nave then under construction at Saint-Denis.[75] The nave was not completed, however, until over thirty years later, after a brief pause in construction from 1258 until 1263 as a result of political tensions between the bishop and the city. Shortly after the completion of the nave in 1275, construction began on the west facade, which opened into the main town square, the heart of civic life and activity. Several plans of the west facade circulated and illustrate that a two-towered cathedral with architectural elements done in the Gothic style was the original architectural goal.[76] By the time the foundation stone of the west facade was laid on May 25, 1277, the cathedral *fabrica* committee, who was behind the construction and administration of the west facade, comprised both chapter delegates and notable citizens.[77] The *fabrica* did, however, have the support of the bishop, who granted

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[74] For more on the north transept portal sculpture at Chartres cathedral, see, for example, Anne McGee Morganstern, *High Gothic Sculpture at Chartres Cathedral* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 73-104.

[75] Strasbourg shared with Saint-Denis compound piers, glazed triforium, and quadripartite tracery windows, among other things.

[76] Three plans of the west facade – now known as A, B, and B1 – survive. Plan A (ca. 1250-1260) depicts a simple version (no sculpture appears) of the south portion of the west facade up to the rose window level. Plan B (ca. 1275 and after), also omitting sculpture like Plan A, illustrates the entire verticality of the west facade including the tower. Plan B1 (ca. 1300) is a loose copy of Plan B but with more decorative elements. For more on these plans and the deviation from the current west facade, see Carl Stehlin, "La façade de la cathédrale de Strasbourg. Étude comparative des anciens projets et de l'exéciton," *Société de Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* 3 (1935): 15-27; Roland Recht and Jacques Le Goff, eds., *Les bâtisseurs des cathédrals gothiques* (Strasbourg: Éditions les Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg, 1989), 380-384; Robert Bork, "Plan B and the Geometry of the Façade Design at Strasbourg Cathedral, 1250-1350," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64 (2005): 442-473.

[77] The *fabrica* refers to persons in charge of building construction, preservation, and administration of many tasks of a church. Traditionally, ecclesiastics made up the *fabrica* but beginning in the thirteenth century laymen became increasingly involved. For more on the *fabrica* at Strasbourg cathedral, see Schock-Werner, "Das Strassburger Münster im 15. Jahrhundert."

indulgences to help fund the costly project and laid the foundation stone himself at the ceremony in 1277. The ambition and cost of the west facade project caused it to drag out for several decades, and by 1291 the builders had completed the level up to the rose windows on the west facade, suggesting that hundreds of sculptures were already in place, although probably not all. And by the end of the thirteenth century, the power of the cathedral *fabrica* resided with its lay members whose numbers and influence steadily grew.

The west facade at Strasbourg showcases many of the new Gothic architectural forms that spread to Alsace from France (Figure 58). The architectural forms, such as the triple portal, tympanum, archivolts, trumeau, lintels, doorposts, jambs, baldachins, socles, and gables were standard architectural elements of the new Gothic portal type. Perhaps even more importantly, these architectural elements were now being populated with sculpture of high quality and a lot of it. The Strasbourg builders took this new portal layout and adapted it to local preferences and taste. Red sandstone, for example, was a locally sourced material that was used by the Strasbourg builders to construct this new cathedral in this new style.[78] Other local preferences were thematic, as we shall see.

The west facade of Strasbourg cathedral comprises three portals: two side portals of the same size and a larger, central portal, much in the manner of its earlier French Gothic counterparts (Figures 59-61).[79] Despite the three-bay structure, the portal is

[78] Red sandstone reservoirs were plentiful along the Rhine. Basel and Worms cathedrals, among countless other buildings, were constructed from this regional material.

[79] Parts of the west facade were heavily damaged during the French Revolution and subsequently heavily restored. The central focus of this study – the right portal of the west facade, in particular the large jamb and wall sculptures – was minimally damaged. For a history of the restoration of the west portal, see van

unified in a typical fashion through its overarching message of Salvation through Christ and the history of Christianity. The narrative spread across the three tympana bears the weight of this task (Figures 62-64). In general, these tympana are very linear in their narrative in that there is no large central scene as the focus. The exception to this, however, is the Crucifixion in the central tympanum, which does burst the register bounds.

Beginning with the left (north) portal on the west facade, the tympanum illustrates scenes from the Childhood of Christ over three registers. On the bottom register the Magi appear before Herod, followed by a scene of the Adoration of the Magi. The central register illustrates the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple appears on the top register.

The central, larger tympanum focuses on scenes of Christ's Passion and scenes after the Resurrection. The tympanum is divided into four registers, and the lowest register packs in five scenes: the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Arrest of Christ, Christ before Pilate, and the Flagellation of Christ. The second register illustrates, from left to right: Christ crowned with the Crown of Thorns, Christ Carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, and the Women at the Empty Tomb. The third register, from left to right, depicts the Suicide of Judas, the Descent into Limbo, the *Noli me tangere*, and Christ and the Doubting Thomas. The fourth and final register depicts the Ascension of Christ into Heaven.

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den Bossche, 48-50 and fig. 10-13. For a detailed discussion of the iconography of the west portal, see van den Bossche, 161-198.

The right (south) portal tympanum illustrates the Last Judgment. The bottom register shows angels blowing their trumpets to awaken the dead, who begin to rise from their tombs. On the left half of the central register, the Saved line up neatly with their hands in prayer, while the Damned are lassoed by devils and escorted into the jaws of hell. On the very top register, Christ appears as Judge, sitting enthroned, surrounded by angels holding the instruments of the Passion and others who sound their horns.

Together, the three tympana of the west facade illustrate the central story of the New Testament: the Birth, Death, and Resurrection of Christ, and ultimately Salvation through him. The archivolts of all three portals of Strasbourg present sculptures of angels, Old Testament figures and stories, New Testament figures and scenes, saints, and ecclesiastics.

The main attraction for the observing eye is, however, the groups of figures that occupy the jambs in each portal and the buttresses in between (Figures 65-72). These large, towering figures dominate the portal space and demand attention. Statues of the virtues trampling the vices stand in the jambs of the left portal, while twelve prophets occupy the central jambs, and the Wise and Foolish Virgins appear in the right portal jambs.[80] In addition to depicting the Life and Death of Christ and ultimate Salvation

[80] The theme of the virtues and vices will be discussed further in Chapter Four, as it is moralizing in nature. Like the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the theme of the virtues and vices is neither new nor unusual in portal programs, but its monumental form at Strasbourg is. Interestingly, the theme appears elsewhere at Strasbourg cathedral in the window of the first bay of the nave from mid fourteenth century. Here the motif appears traditionally in small form. The theme also appears nearby in Alsace at Mulhouse and at Niederhaslach. The placement of the prophets in the jambs is not new, and at Strasbourg they are presented rather traditionally with the exception of one beardless figure, standing third from the door on the left, who wears a contemporary tunic and hat. Bearing this garb and exhibiting striking individualism, scholars have often attributed this likeness to a contemporary figure, Erwin, the master builder at Strasbourg. Norberto Gramaccini more recently argued that this figure represents the Latin poet Virgil,

through him, the three portals also exhibit ethical, moral, Mariological, and exegetic themes. Christian teachings, stories, and characters are all chiseled into stone on the west facade of Strasbourg cathedral, inviting the viewer to absorb it all.

Like all the sculptors of the portal programs addressed in this study, the designer or iconographer of the program at Strasbourg remains unknown. There has been a tradition among early scholars of Strasbourg cathedral to attribute the design of the west portal to Albertus Magnus, despite a lack of supporting evidence.[81] This attribution, as Benoît van den Bossche has recently pointed out, holds no weight and is nothing more than a hypothesis.[82]

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whose works had been used in biblical and liturgical texts since the twelfth century. Images of him appear elsewhere on cathedrals (Laon and Mantua, for example). See Hans Haug et al., *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 85; Norberto Gramaccini, "Eine Statue Vergils im Straßburger Prophetenportal," in *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12.-13. Jahrhundert*, 739-761.

[81] Scholars who advocated for Albertus's involvement in the portal program look to his extended stay in Strasbourg (1244 and 1267-1269) as evidence, as it was during the 1260s that the iconography and design of the portal program were probably developed. These scholars also like to link the ethical and moral emphasis of the portals with Albertus's works on similar topics. Without any hard evidence, it is hard to attribute the portal to Albertus Magnus. It seems more likely that his thoughts on ethics and morals (which were based on Aristotelian thought) influenced the designer of the portal program indirectly, since Albertus's ideas were circulated widely and were highly influential at the time. Ferdinand Chardin wrote that "c'est surtout Albert le Grand qui nous a transmis de nombreux renseignements sur [le] sujet." See Ferdinand Chardin, "Le trône de Salomon représenté sur le grand portail de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Revue archéologique* 12 (1855): 294. Kurt Moritz-Eichborn further suggested this connection and believed that the Dominicans in Strasbourg and Albertus Magnus played a role in the elaborate portal program. Kurt Moritz-Eichborn, *Der Skulpturencyklus in der Vorhalle des Freiburger Münsters und seine Stellung in der Plastik des Oberrheins* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1899), 251-252. More recently Victor Beyer advocated for Albertus Magnus's involvement in the design, believing that only a theologian of Albertus's magnitude could develop such a complex program. See Victor Beyer, "*Sedes Sapientiae* et Vierge au trône de Salomon en Alsace," *Pays d'Alsace* 2-3 (1989): 16.

[82] Van den Bossche believes that anonymous sources, such as homilies, sermons, hagiographical texts, and dramas, played an influential role in the development of the portal program, and that a cleric or someone well-versed in philosophy, the Bible, and popular currents in spirituality was the designer of the portal program, not completely eliminating the possibility of Albertus Magnus's involvement to some degree. Van den Bossche, 147-151. Two scholars shared similar views with van den Bossche: Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters mit Berücksichtigung von Honorius Augustodunensis, Sicardus und Durandus* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1924), 361; S. Schultz, "Iconographie des portails occidentaux, nouvelle approche," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 22 (1996): 107.

Returning to the right portal, the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins had already been displayed nearby on the Galluspforte at Basel cathedral and at Eguisheim, as well as at Trier (ca. 1243-1250), Wessobrunn (ca. 1250-1253), and Tholey (ca. 1250-1300), and thus the theme would not have been unusual at Strasbourg. Its placement and prominence in sculptural form was, however, new.[83] At Strasbourg, the Fürst der Welt and three Foolish Virgins occupy the four positions on the left jambs; two additional Foolish stand on the fronts of the buttresses further to the left. Christ stands next to the door with three Wise Virgins in the right jambs, while two additional Wise appear further to the right on the fronts of buttresses. At Magdeburg, as we have seen, the theme first appears in large scale on the north transept portal; it displays an unprecedented sense of moral distinction through an expression of emotions and gestures, while until that point in both Germany and France the moral message had been conveyed primarily through physical attributes (e.g., lamps or clothing).

Strasbourg does employ expression and gestures to convey moral character but not to the extreme that Magdeburg does. The Strasbourg Virgins do not share the physiognomic sameness that their Magdeburg counterparts do. The facial features of the Virgins are not uniform, though part of this might be explained by the style of different workshops. For example, the Fürst der Welt and the Foolish Virgin to his immediate left

[83] Although the Wise and Foolish Virgins at Magdeburg are large scale, they appear within a closed porch, thus making their location less prominent. Of the entire ensemble of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins on the right portal of the west facade at Strasbourg cathedral – five Wise, five Foolish, Christ, and the Fürst der Welt – only five originals still stand there: the three Foolish Virgins in the jambs closest to the portal door, Christ, and the Wise Virgin immediately next to him. The other seven sculptures are casts (that went up sometime between 1907 and 1914). The originals of those figures now stand in the Musée de l'Œuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg (inv. 62-68). Although the sculptures appear grey and slick, laboratory testing has unveiled some of the original polychrome. See van den Bossche, 190-194.

certainly belong to the same workshop; the style of their eyes and puffed cheeks is quite similar (Figure 73). I posit that the two Foolish Virgins in the left jambs closest to the portal door belong stylistically to a separate workshop, perhaps the same one as the two Wise Virgins who stand in the third and fourth position from the door in the right jamb. All four of these figures display similar delicate facial features: narrow eyes, petite noses, and small, closed mouths – features not dissimilar to those of the virtues and vices in the left portal jamb.

With the exception of the Foolish Virgin to the immediate left of the Fürst der Welt, the Strasbourg Virgins all wear similar dresses belted at the waist, and some wear mantels. Unlike the Magdeburg Virgins, most of the Wise at Strasbourg wear veils, which, in addition to their placement next to Christ, distinguish them immediately from the Foolish.[84] Further, the Wise hold lamps in their right hands and scrolls (that once bore text) in their left.[85] With their mouths closed tightly and with calm expressions, the Wise stand perfectly restrained, embodying the ideal of virtue.

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[84] The Wise Virgin furthest to the right on the front of the buttress does not wear a veil. She does, however, hold a lamp upright confirming her moral character. In contrast to this, a seventeenth-century engraving of this portal presents all the Wise Virgins with veils. This engraving is preserved at the L'Œuvre Notre-Dame in Strasbourg.

[85] Interestingly, actual medieval lamps have been preserved at the Musée Historique in Strasbourg (inv. D.88.993.1.5 and D.88.003.0.2214) and bear a striking resemblance to their sculpted counterparts on the cathedral. Bernadette Schnitzler, Marie-Jeanne Geyer, and Martine Onipenko, *Vivre au Moyen Age: 30 ans d'archéologie médiévale en Alsace* (Strasbourg: Editions Les Musées de la ville de Strasbourg, 1990), 61. The survival of actual and functioning lamps calls into question the relationship between these objects and their counterparts in visual imagery. Émile Mâle believed that images of lamps in representations of the Wise and Foolish Virgins took inspiration from lamps used as props in plays. Similarly, Otto Pächt suggested that images took inspiration from their dramatic counterparts. Émile Mâle, *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 152-153; Otto Pâcht, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). For more on dramas and visual imagery, see M. Julien Durand, "Monuments figurés du moyen age exécutés d'après des textes liturgiques," *Bulletin monumental* 54 (1888): 521-550; Jacques Chailley, "Du drame liturgique aux prophètes de Notre-Dame-la-Grand," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-

On the opposite jambs, the unveiled Foolish Virgins hold their empty lamps upside down in their left hands and wound scrolls in their right.[86] They gaze sadly downward and reflect inwardly upon their fate. The exception to this contemplative representation, however, is the Foolish Virgin to the immediate left of the Fürst der Welt. This Virgin, who already stands out from all the Virgins at Strasbourg for her different style and courtly garb and headdress, bears a wide grin and offers a vain laugh. Unlike the smiles and laughs displayed by the Wise at Magdeburg, the expressions borne by this Foolish Virgin are interpreted negatively and are suggestive of preoccupation with worldly pleasure: women's laughter and excessive smiling was often associated with lack of virtue in patristic and religious writings.

For example, in his *On Education of Noble Children*, Vincent of Beauvais (1190-1264) dedicates ten chapters to the education of girls, and in it he counsels against "willful demeanor, roaming eyes, unbridled tongues, wanton laughter, jeering or buffoon-like jesting, and an indecent disposition."[87] Further underscoring the tension between smiling and laughing on the one hand and virtue and spirituality on the other is a thirteenth-century Germany poem entitled "Vom Jüngsten Tage":

> What can I say about women whose bodies here wanted to be clothed in hubris, who came here [to hell] all adorned and committed much sin because of [their] pride and dancing, their crowns and wreaths, their bands and veils: they used to

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François Riou (Poitiers: Société d'Études Médiévales, 1966), 2: 835-840; Fletcher Collins, *Production of Medieval Church Music-Dramas* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1972), 107. See also Loos-Noji, 101-105.

[86] The Foolish Virgin furthest to the left on the front of the buttress wears a veil and holds an empty lamp upside down. A seventeenth-century engraving portrays this virgin accurately with the veil and empty lamp, but moves her one position to the right. On this engraving, see note 84 above.

[87] Trokhimenko, 193. Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1938).

> wear many a clasp to hold their sleeves up and to entertain themselves by laughing and singing.[88]

In all of these examples, many of the distinguishing features – crowns/wreaths, veils, excessive fabric, and laughing – of the Foolish Virgins are indictors of sins that are cause for condemnation into hell.

Returning to the laughing and smiling Foolish Virgin at Strasbourg, where the connection between laughter and lack of virtue play out: her belt has become unhinged and has fallen to her feet, and she turns toward the Fürst der Welt with her hand to her breast, ready to unfasten her garment (Figure 73). Completely entranced by the Fürst der Welt, this Foolish Virgin has dropped her lamp, leaving it idle at her feet, accompanied by her fallen belt. This open display of content for her foolish choice is unprecedented in imagery. She is neither remorseful nor contemplative like her fellow Foolish Virgins or any predecessors; rather, she is happily preoccupied with the world and her tempter as seen through her vain laugh, proud smile, and suggestive gestures.

With this lustful Foolish Virgin closest to him, literally and spiritually, the Fürst der Welt clutches his mantel with his left hand and offers with his right hand an apple, a symbol of temptation recalling Eve's gesture in Genesis. Clothed in contemporary garb

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[88] Trokhimenko, 302. The original text below is taken from Helmut de Boor, ed., *Die deutsche Literatur: Texte und Zeugnisse; Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1965), 1: 172-182.

> Was sol ich von den vrouwen sagen
> Der lîp hie hôhvart wolte tragen,
> Die hie gezieret giengen
> Und sünde vil enphiengen
> Mit stolzheit und mit tenzen,
> Mit schapelen unde krenzen
> Mit binden und mit risen?
> Ir ermel ûf ze brîsen,
> Sie trougen heftelîne vil.
> Lachen, singen was ir spil.

and hairstyle, his figure stands out immediately. Such finesse and elegance are meant to attract and lure, as evidenced by the Virgin to his left, who turns her body toward him and refocuses her attention. Captivated by the allure and beauty of the Fürst der Welt's appearance and seductive smile, she and the other Foolish remain oblivious to his backside, where an opening in his mantel reveals six toads, two snakes, and two lizards (Figure 74). Preoccupied with the beauty and charm of the Fürst der Welt, the Foolish Virgin to his left remains entranced and has thus sealed her fate. The relationship between these two figures, as suggested by their expressions and gestures, evokes the relationship between a lady and her suitor as expressed in courtly protocol.[89] Together they send a message of worldliness and moral and physical corruption, leaving the viewer to decide which path to follow – that of the prim and proper Wise Virgins, or the loose, immoral Foolish Virgins. The decision about preparing oneself for heaven is written large here on the doorway of the image of heaven on earth, the church.

The inclusion of the Fürst der Welt and Christ and their placement in this program help underscore the moral message of this program, which, as we have seen, has already been amplified by attributes, clothing, gestures, and expressions. In keeping with tradition, the composition also helps to differentiate the Wise from the Foolish by physically separating the two groups. While Christ had already been part of programs of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, it is at Strasbourg where this occurs for the first time in large scale in the jambs. With this in mind, the inclusion of the Fürst der Welt at

[89] Trokhimenko, 299-300. While the Church associated virtue with self restraint and strict bodily control, and thus excessive smiling and laughter were discouraged, such expressions were openly embraced in courtly culture in which a smile was used to indicate a female's interest in a suitor and secular, worldly things and events that would ensue during and after a courtship.

Strasbourg as Christ's negative counterpart might be necessitated by the symmetrical structure of the portal; an odd number would not have worked; there needed to be an additional figure to balance out the inclusion of Christ.

The five Wise Virgins and Christ appear opposite the five Foolish Virgins and the Fürst der Welt to the left of the portal. In an unusual fashion, however, the Wise at Strasbourg appear in the right jambs, and thus on the left of both the seated Christ in the tympanum and the standing jamb figure; the Foolish stand in the left jambs. Christ's placement directly next to the door has symbolic connotations. It alludes to him being the door or way into heaven: "I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved: and he shall go in, and go out, and shall find pastures" (John 10:9). Similarly, as the bridegroom, Christ's position next to the door alludes to the door in the parable. On the opposite side are the Foolish and the Fürst der Welt. Interestingly, the Fürst der Welt does not appear directly across from Christ in the jamb closest to the door but rather on the outermost jamb, closest to the earthly world. I interpret this placement on two levels. Symbolically, it would not be appropriate to have such a negative figure so close to the portal doors, a position that Christ himself occupies on the opposite wall;[90] and practically, the Fürst der Welt's position in the outermost jamb works because this spot allows both his front and back to be viewed. This position, with no figure behind him, allows for maximum exposure; if he were in any other position in the jamb, the placement of him at a slight rotation would not work to expose his front and back. Only

[90] There are exceptions to this. For example, a large sculpture of Herod (ca. 1230-1235) appears in the south portal jambs on the west facade of Amiens cathedral. In general, however, it was rare for negative figures to feature prominently on church facades.

one other possibility could work: the jamb directly opposite the one on which he stands. So if the figures of this parable were arranged in the traditional manner, as at Magdeburg with the Foolish to the right of the door and the Wise Virgins to the left, the Fürst der Welt could stand equally effectively on the outermost jamb.

It is not clear why the traditional good-bad arrangement was reversed at Strasbourg, but I would surmise that this arrangement was more legible to the viewer than arrangements previously employed.[91] Now the figures could be interpreted from the *viewer's* left or right instead of from the point of view of the portal door, which served as a surrogate for Christ, or of a seated Christ in the tympanum. Interestingly, this moralizing layout differs from that in the tympanum directly above, which depicts a Last Judgment scene in which the Damned appear to Christ's left and the Saved to his right.

The subtle and not-so-subtle clues that indicate the Virgins' moral character are manifold at Strasbourg. Whereas the moral distinction between the Virgins had previously been indicated compositionally – by positioning the Virgins to the left or right of Christ or a door – or through fashion or clothes, or by attributes (lamps) at Strasbourg, facial features and gestures are also employed. At Strasbourg, all the aforementioned tools are in use and are amplified by the inclusion of the Fürst der Welt and by an audience-oriented layout of the Virgins. All these elements reach their full potential in combination and would have made this portal extremely legible to even the most innocent of viewers as they entered or exited the church or conducted business in the town square. In short, at Strasbourg the moral distinctions of good and bad behavior are

[91] This backward arrangement was not taken up at Basel and Freiburg.

intended to be clear, and the story is made highly legible, simple, and lucid. The moral transparency of the Strasbourg Virgins is inescapable and was even perhaps foolproof for audiences who were not privy to the plot of the parable.[92] This kind of iconography and audience-focused program was adapted at Basel and Freiburg in the following years.

BASEL CATHEDRAL

Today Basel cathedral is part of the Swiss Reformed Church, but it was the seat of a Catholic bishop from the eighth century until the Reformation (Figures 75-77).[93] The largest part of the building is Romanesque, with thick and heavy walls, columns, and masonry work. The Galluspforte, which was previously discussed, belongs to this Romanesque style. Despite the dominating Romanesque style, renovations and updates were made throughout the years. The construction of the first Gothic portal, around 1270-1285, was a response to a series of fires in 1258 that had left a significant portion of the west facade damaged. Unfortunately, this portal was all but destroyed during the great Basel earthquake of October 18, 1356. With estimates of seismic activity reaching

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[92] I borrow the term "moral transparency" from Stephen Jaeger, "Appendix A. Moral Discipline and Gothic Sculpture: The Wise and Foolish Virgins of Strassburg Cathedral," in *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994). He first defines the term on page 342: Moral transparency is a depiction in which "the outer appearance leads the mind to a perception of the inner state."

[93] Basel became the seat of a bishop around 740, and by the eleventh century the status of the bishop of Basel was elevated to prince-bishop, a title that remained until the seat was dissolved during secularization in 1803. The bishops and later prince-bishops resided in Basel until the cathedral fell victim to the iconoclastic riots on February 9, 1529, at which point the church became part of the Swiss Reformed Church. The bishops of Basel subsequently relocated to Porrentruy, a town located thirty-five miles west of Basel near the modern French border, where they remained until secularization. The most recent scholarship on Basel cathedral is Meier and Schürmann, eds., *Himmelstür*. Other scholarship includes Basler Münsterbauverein, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Basler Münsters* (Basel: Basler Münsterbauverein, 1881); Hans Reinhardt, *Das Basler Münster: Die spätromanische Bauperiod vom Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1926); Daniel Grütter, *Basler Münster: Bilder* (Basel: Klingentalmuseum, 1999); Hans-Rudolf Meier and Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, *Schwelle zum Paradies. Die Galluspforte des Basler Münsters* (Basel: Schwabe, 2002).

a magnitude as high as 7.1, much of the city was damaged, claiming nearly 1,000 casualties. Needless to say, the first Gothic portal was beyond repair. Today only the archivolts from this program remain in situ.

Following repairs on the choir polygon, Parler architect Johannes von Gmünd initiated the construction of the second Gothic portal, which was completed around 1410-1420.[94] This design and architecture of the second portal is much of what we see today, supplemented by a few surviving sculptures from the first Gothic portal. The final phase of the west facade portal was completed in 1597, after the damages incurred from the iconoclastic riots of 1529.[95] It is likely that during the riots the trumeau figure (probably of the Virgin and Child) and the tympanum (also probably Marian in theme) from the original Gothic portal were destroyed.[96] Other minor changes to the west facade portal were completed throughout the years, but nothing major altered the facade or portal program as we see it today.

Apart from the archivolts, the only survivors from the original Gothic portal from around 1270-1285 are the four large-scale statues now standing on piers well above to the right and left of the portal doors, depicting Empress Kunigunde and Emperor Henry II, a major donor and later saint, to whom the cathedral is dedicated, the Fürst der Welt, and one Foolish Virgin (Figures 78-80), and three fragments of heads that probably once

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[94] See Hans Reinhardt, *Johannes von Gmünd, Baumeister an den Münstern von Basel und Freiburg und sein Sohn Michael von Freiburg, Werkmeister am Strassburger Münster* (Berlin: Birkhäuser, 1941).
[95] For more on the iconoclastic riots in Basel, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols & Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[96] Fragments of groups of feet of relief sculpture from the very bottom register of the tympanum survive in situ and would indicate that the tympanum once illustrated group scenes from the Life or Infancy of Christ or Mary.

belonged to larger sculptures of the Virgin and Child, an angel, and a Foolish Virgin (Figures 81-83). Unlike at Strasbourg, there is no ceremonial date or event to mark the start of construction of the original Gothic portal at Basel. To situate the portal in time, scholars have instead relied on a single line in a late thirteenth-century chronicle authored by a Dominican monk from Colmar describing an event in 1258: "The monastery was burnt up, and a great part of the city of Basel on the eve of St. Martin."[97] Ravaging a large part of the city and perhaps a great portion of the cathedral, this fire was likely the cause of the reconstruction of the portal on the west facade. In the years following the fire, donations were made for new construction of the church, which further underscore the validity of this hypothesis.

Completion of the first Gothic portal dates to around 1285 since it is at this point that the plans for the Michaelskapelle, a chapel located above the portal, were mentioned.[98] Support for the date is further bolstered by the relocation of the Erminold Master, the master sculptor responsible for the earliest sculpture (i.e., the archivolts and the tympanum) at Basel cathedral, to Regensburg as a sculptor by 1283 at the very latest.[99] Based on these events the portal and portal sculpture probably were completed

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[97] The English translation is my own. "Combustum est monasterium Basiliense et magna pars civitatis in vigilia sancti Martini." Meier and Schürmann, "Einleitung," in *Himmelstür*, 18.

[98] Hans Reinhardt, "Urkunden und Nachrichten über den Basler Münsterbau bis zum Jahr 1300," *Oberrheinische Kunst* 3 (1928): 129.

[99] For more on the Erminold Master, see Achim Hubel, "Der Erminoldmeister und die deutsche Skulptur des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 8 (1974): 53-241; Achim Hubel, "Der Erminoldmeister: Überlegungen zu Person und Werk," *Regensburger Almanach* 26 (1993): 197-207; Achim Hubel, "Das Hauptportal. Zwei Meister, zwei Stile und die Frage nach den Werkstätten," in *Himmelstür*, 120-151.

between 1270 and 1285, with the archivolt and tympanum sculpture erected first, followed by the completion of the large, freestanding sculpture.

The large, freestanding sculpture was originally part of a deeply recessed porch that stood between the two west towers (Figures 84-85). The dimensions of this porch adhered to the height and width of the current portal.[100] The portal probably looked, as shall be seen shortly, very similar to the one in Freiburg: lateral walls would have extended out several feet from the current west wall and the entire space would have been covered.[101] Three arched doorways would have led into the porch, the central being larger than the lateral, and the interior lateral walls of the porch would have been covered with sculpture.

The sculpture that covered all the architectural elements of the original Gothic portal at Basel cathedral would have comprised a large and comprehensive biblical program. The carved archivolts from this original campaign survive. They are a blend of biblical figures and floral motifs, with secondary Christian meanings.[102] The tympanum and trumeau, as mentioned earlier, were probably Marian in theme, since the Virgin Mary was the patron saint of the church. Not favored subjects of the iconoclasts, the tympanum and trumeau figures were probably damaged beyond repair during the

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[100] Karl Stehlin and Rudolf Wackernagel, *Baugeschichte des Basler Münsters* (Basel: Basler Münsterbauvereins, 1895), 125.

[101] See Hans-Rudolf Meier, "Die ehemalige Portalvorhalle und das heutige Portal. Bauliche Veränderungen," in *Himmelstür,* 84-95.

[102] The outermost archivolt shows rolled up leaves that might possibly be oak, which holds biblical significance in Genesis 35:4, Josh 24: 25-7, and Isaiah 61. Busts of angels, sibyls, kings, and prophets occupy the next archivolt. Dog rose and peonies populate the next archivolt, while angels, kneeling and dancing, fill the next figural archivolt with an angel in the center presenting instruments from the Passion. And finally, the innermost archivolt depicts grapevines on the left side and bryony on the right side.

iconoclastic riots in 1529. The tympanum was replaced by figureless glasswork and ornamental tracery in the sixteenth century and the trumeau remains unoccupied to this day. One of the fragments, now in the Historisches Museum Basel, from the original Gothic portal is a head of a young, crowned female, probably that of the Virgin Mary, which stood originally on the trumeau (Figure 81). The damage to the eyes, nose, and mouth of the head would suggest that it was badly vandalized during the iconoclastic riots.

After the Erminold Master's work on the archivolts and tympanum, a second, younger workshop was responsible for the slightly later, large-scale sculptures that once decorated the lateral walls of the porch and the trumeau. However, it is unclear whether these walls were intended from the start to be decorated with sculpture. Regardless, they eventually were; today only four complete sculptures and three fragments from this group survive.

Scholars believe that the sculptures of the Fürst der Welt and the Foolish Virgin now above the portal were part of a larger ensemble of the parable that occupied the lateral porch walls (Figure 86).[103] Quite similar to the arrangement at Freiburg, on the left wall there would have been sculptures of Christ with the five Wise Virgins and on the right wall the Fürst der Welt and the five Foolish Virgins. The figures of Christ and the Fürst der Welt were probably placed to the immediate left and right of the central portal door, rather than on the lateral walls, making their moral opposition more dramatic for viewers as they enter the church. Furthermore, as viewers exited the church they would

[103] Hubel, "Das Hauptportal," in *Himmelstür*, 138-143.

have been immediately greeted by the backside of the Fürst der Welt and reminded of the deception of the world into which they just entered. The position of Christ and the Fürst der Welt next to the portal doors would have also presented the figures as heavenly and earthly leaders were speaking directly to their wise and foolish flocks. A fragment of a sculpture from the Museum Kleines Klingental (a former Dominican convent founded in 1274) in Basel is thought to be an angel that would have accompanied Christ and the Wise Virgins on the left lateral wall (Figure 82). The inclusion of an angel in the program has led scholars to believe that a sculpture *Voluptas* (a female personification of pleasure) would have stood directly opposite the angel on the right wall alongside the five Foolish and thus reinforced their virtue-less nature.[104] Flanking the triple arched porch on the exterior walls were probably the statues of Emperor Henry II and Empress Kunigunde, to celebrate and remind the viewer of the patrons of the church.

This Fürst der Welt at Basel shares many characteristics and attributes with his counterpart in Strasbourg: he is clad in contemporary, courtly attire, wears a fashionable hairstyle topped with a floral crown, and sports a wide grin (Figure 7-8, 87).[105] From behind, his mantel hangs open, exposing part of his back, in which loathsome animals reside (Figure 88). Snakes slither up and down his back, while toads feast on his flesh. At the base of the statue, the head of a dragon spouts flames of fire onto his back and keeps with the theme of negative, evil animals (Figure 89). While toads and snakes (and lizards and worms) are commonplace in representations of the Fürst der Welt (and Frau

[104] Hubel, "Das Hauptportal," in *Himmelstür*, 150n103. This fragment was originally thought to be female, but the figure's Adam's apple and cleft chin indicate that it is male.
[105] He shares the same hairstyle with the statue of Emperor Henry, who also wears a crown but one interpreted to be of metal and gems, not flowers.

Welt), the dragon appears only at Basel. Unlike the Fürst der Welt at Strasbourg, who holds an apple in his hand as an act of temptation, the Fürst der Welt at Basel does not offer anything in his hands, but gestures toward himself rather proudly with this right hand and holds a pair of gloves – symbols of courtly stature – in his left.[106]

The sole surviving Foolish Virgin sculpture at Basel offers a wide grin, much like the Foolish Virgin immediately next to the Fürst der Welt at Strasbourg, suggesting her obliviousness to or pleasure in the path that she has chosen (Figure 90). Like her tempter on the facing pier, she too wears contemporary clothing, and her hair remains uncovered and loose. As she stands today (and probably originally stood), she faces her tempter with her eyes locked on him. Flirting with him, the Foolish Virgin pulls back the top of her mantel with her right hand to reveal some of her flesh or underdress. Unfortunately, no other intact Virgins survive at Basel, and thus we do not know if the other Foolish were portrayed in this manner – flirty postures and gestures with no expressions of remorse – or if they followed the program at Strasbourg, where some appeared remorseful and sad, while others, completely enthralled with the world, seem beyond redemption.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the Foolish Virgin at Basel is that she appears with no lamp – neither holding one, nor with one at her feet. Despite this

[106] Starting in the twelfth century in Europe, gloves transitioned from a functional and practical article of clothing for those working outdoors, such as shepherds, to a status symbol of courtiers. Unlike gloves worn by laborers that were made from animal skins, gloves worn at court were made from luxurious fabrics, such as silks, and decorated ornately with precious stones and pearls. The glove thus became a means to display power and wealth. The gloves of the Fürst der Welt at Basel appear to be made of fine fabric and display decorative buttons, and thus add to his courtly appearance. For more on the history of gloves and their integration into courtly culture, see Elke Brüggen, *Kleidung und Mode in der höfischen Epik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1989), 71-99.

absence, her gestures and posture, so similar to the Foolish Virgin at Strasbourg, and the surviving context of the original portal indicate that she is in fact a Foolish Virgin.

Another fragment of a head from the Museum Kleines Klingental may have once belonged to a Foolish Virgin that was part of the original Gothic portal at Basel cathedral, as her hair remains uncovered (Figure 83). Although from the sixteenth century until 1936 this fragment was immured into the facade of the Leonhardskirche in Basel, the style of this head points toward the first Gothic portal of the Basel cathedral and its original placement in the porch there as a Foolish Virgin. If this fragment is in fact a Foolish Virgin, she does not appear, in her facial features at least, flirty or grinning and thus may have once displayed more traditional gestures and expressions of mourning and despair, rather than of pride and contentment as the Foolish Virgin preserved on the cathedral facade does.

The surviving figures of the Fürst der Welt and Foolish Virgin, though part of a theme common along the Upper Rhine and elsewhere in medieval Europe, are distinct to Basel stylistically. Whereas the figures at Strasbourg were influenced highly by the workshops that came from France, the figures at Basel share physiological features specific to local sculpture: doubled and dimpled chin, and heavy, rounded eyes. Such characteristics are also featured on the sculptures of Henry II and Kunigunde.

The fragments and sculptures from the original Gothic portal, which today stand plain and without color, were once polychromed.[107] Pigment analysis conducted on the

[107] See Burckhardt, "Die Färbung des Hauptportals," in *Himmelstür,* 52-61. For a digital reconstruction of the original Gothic portal with polychrome, see foldout #1 in *Himmelstür*.

statues of Heinrich and Kunigunde in 1987 showed that these sculptures were originally partially polychromed, suggesting that the other surviving statues from the original Gothic porch were too. The original Gothic portal enveloped those entering the church with a bright sea of biblical figures who gazed down at the viewer. And if the proposed iconographic layout of the original Gothic portal is correct, the figures also would have served a strong moralizing purpose. For upon entering the porch, the viewer would have confronted models of good Christian behavior on the wall to her left, with their negative counterparts on the right. Such moral divides would have been visible not only to those entering and exiting the portal doors for liturgical events and services, but for other celebratory and even secular events, as the space served manifold functions.[108] And much like at Strasbourg, the large-scale sculpture adorning the jambs and lateral walls left perhaps the strongest impression on the viewer, as they were large and accessible spatially.

FREIBURG MINSTER

Unlike Strasbourg or Basel, the Freiburg minster was originally built as a parish church and only much later, in 1827, became a bishop's church after the seat was moved from Constance (Figures 91-92). Its beginnings were thus more modest, yet its portal program was no less involved.[109] Around 1200, Duke Berthold V of the Zähringen

[108] For more on the functions of the west facade portal at Basel cathedral, see Regine Abegg, "Symbolik und Nutzung des Hauptportals im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," in *Himmelstür*, 154-165.

[109] As with the literature on Strasbourg and Basel cathedrals, that on the Freiburg minster is exhaustive. The most recent and thorough study of the Freiburg minster is Freiburger Münsterbauverein, ed., *Das Freiburger Münster* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2011). Other selected works on the history of the minster include Georg Engelberger, *Beschreibung der Erzbischöflichen Dom- und Münsterkirche zu Freiburg im Breisgau: Ein Darstellung der Merkwürdigkeiten und der Geschichte des Münsters* (Freiburg:

dynasty decided to replace a modest twelfth-century church, which was located where the current minster is, with a larger and newer one.[110] The master mason of this undertaking remains unknown, but it was planned in the High Romanesque style. Of this phase of construction, only the transept and the two east towers survive.[111] Construction on this building was unexpectedly halted in 1218 after the death of Duke Berthold V, the major financier of the project, without an heir.[112] It was not until around 1250 that consistent funds (much of which came from the citizens) for the building resurfaced and construction could resume. Around this time the city council took control of the building and financing of the minster.[113] Unlike the situation at Strasbourg, it is clear that the Freiburg citizenry was in charge of the building project at the time the portal sculpture was erected. The strong involvement and support of the Freiburg citizenry in the building of the minster became a form of civic pride.[114] Both construction campaigns –

P. W. Lippe, 1847); Friedrich Kempf, *Das Freiburger Münster* (Karhlsruhe: Braun, 1926); Wolf Hart, *Die Skulpturen des Freiburger Münsters* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1975); Wolf Hart, *Das Freiburger Münster* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1978); Friedrich Kobler, "Das Freiburger Münster: Der Bau und seine Originalausstattung; Die Baugeschichte," in *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, ed. Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1996) 1: 343-359; Heike Mittmann, *Das Münster zu Freiburg im Breisgau* (Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2000).

[110] Freiburg was officially founded by Duke Berthold II of the Zähringen dynasty in 1091. The establishment of a market in 1120 attests to Freiburg's increasing importance and prestige nearly thirty years later. A church in Freiburg is first mentioned in a city charter dated that same year. For more on this early building, see Frank Löbbecke, "Die erste Freiburger Pfarrkirche – Der Vorgängerbau des Münsters im 12. Jahrhundert (Bau I)," in *Das Freiburger Münster*, 2011, 45-47; Detlef Zinke, "Romanische Skulptur," in *Das Freiburger Münster*, 2011, 185-190.

[111] The spires atop the towers were added in the fourteenth century. For more on this later building campaign, see Volker Osteneck and Frank Löbbecke, "Pfarrkirche und Memorialbau – Der spätromanische Neubau (Bau II): Rekonstruktion und Baugeschichte," in *Das Freiburger Münster,* 2011, 49-53.

[112] He was buried in the minster in 1218. Flamm Hermann, "Grab und Grabmal Herzog Bertholds von Zähringen im Freiburger Münster," *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 7 (1913): 45-47.

[113] There is no mention of the Freiburg *fabrica* until 1311. Peter Kalchthaler, *Kleine Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg* (Freiburg i.B.: Rombach, 1997), 33-40.

[114] Robert Bork has argued that the height of the Freiburg spire was a way for the Freiburg citizenry to assert their rights and power to the unpopular Count Egino II. On the west tower, see Robert Bork, "Into

that beginning in 1200 and the later one of 1250 – looked to Basel and Strasbourg for architectural and sculptural inspiration.

During this thirty-year hiatus, before work resumed about 1250, the Gothic style, which had originated in and around Paris in the mid-twelfth century, began to permeate Germany, specifically in cities along the Rhine. Once the building of the Freiburg minster resumed in the mid-thirteenth century, the original High Romanesque plans were scrapped in favor of this new fashionable style that allowed for taller and lighter building. Construction of the Freiburg minster in the Gothic style can be divided into four phases. During the first phase, completed sometime between 1250 and 1256, two east bays were built and several High Romanesque sections were replaced, the main aisle was raised and the side aisles were widened. In addition, the vaulting was heightened and flying buttresses were added to support the increasing verticality of the minster.[115]

Phases two through four were completed between 1260 and 1340. During these phases, the west portal and the porch and giant west tower above it were completed.[116] Although most of the Gothic plan was built by the mid-fourteenth century, work on this plan continued through the sixteenth century. Subsequent additions and restorations continued beyond this period, but very few changes were made to the west facade, porch,

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Thin Air: France, Germany, and the Invention of the Openwork Spire," *Art Bulletin* 85 (2003): 25-53, esp. 43-47.

[115] See Stefan King, "Die gotischen Ostjoche des Langhauses," in *Das Freiburger Münster*, 2011, 55-60; Hans W. Hubert, "Die Könige und Apostel an den Langhausstrebepfeilern," in *Das Freiburger Münster*, 2011, 191-193.

[116] The new Gothic style expressed a preference for twin towers on the west facade, but Freiburg chose to forgo this fashion in favor of the single tower that prevailed during the Romanesque period. The single tower at Freiburg is, however, done in the Gothic style and is the first among many that were built in Germany in the later Middle Ages. As in Strasbourg, plans for the Freiburg west tower survive. See Johann Josef Böker and Anne-Christine Brehm, "Die gotischen Architekturzeichnungen des Freiburger Münsterturms," in *Das Freiburger Münster*, 2011, 323-327.

and portal. The church surprisingly remained unscathed during World War II, when the rest of Freiburg was bombed heavily.[117]

In addition to withstanding the wreckage of World War II, the west portal and porch program remained unaltered, even as the interior of the church underwent several changes, mostly during the Baroque period. The sculpture was not immune, however, to nineteenth-century art historical taste, which oversaw the repainting of the figures in 1888-1889. This is the color we see today. It follows the patterns and palette of the painting scheme that was undertaken in 1604-1609. Although the figures were originally painted around 1280-1290, none of the original paint is visible. Uncovered remnants of the medieval polychrome found under the 1604 colors, revealed that blues and gold were prevalent.[118]

Hundreds of sculptures adorn the west facade, porch, and portal of Freiburg minster. A statue of the Virgin and Child atop a column just before the entrance into the west porch greets the viewer (Figure 93). Situated in the gable of the entrance into the west porch is a relief of the Coronation of the Virgin, showing Christ blessing the Virgin as they both sit enthroned in heaven (Figure 94). Four angels above the figures carry the crown to be placed on the Virgin's head. Two angels flank this scene, as do Saints Catherine and Margaret. After crossing the threshold and moving into the porch proper, one is engulfed on all sides by sculpture (Figure 95). In the same fashion as the original

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[117] Ulrich Ecker, "Der traurige Bericht über unser einmal gewesenes schönes Freiburg," in *Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau, Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung von Stadtarchiv und Augustinermuseum anläßlich des 50. Jahrestags der Zerstörung Freiburgs im Luftkrieg am 27. November 1944* (Freiburg: Waldkircher Verlag, 1994), 13-49.

[118] Johanna Quatmann and Eberhard Grether, "Zur früheren Farbigkeit von Architektur und Steinplastik," in *Das Freiburger Münster*, 2011, 303-306.

Gothic porch at Basel once did, that at Freiburg displays nearly freestanding sculpture along the lateral porch walls and the architectural elements of the portal.[119]

What one perhaps first notices when entering the porch is the statue of the Virgin and Child on the trumeau, which mirrors that on the column just outside the entrance into the porch (Figures 96-97). Both statues of the Virgin are fitting since she is the patron of the church, but the one in the porch plays a much larger role; it is an integral part of the larger portal program and a key figure in understanding the Christological message the portal sought to convey. A figure of Jesse is carved into the socle on which the Virgin and Child stand. Out of Jesse's back emerges a floral motif that runs along either side of the Virgin and Child on the trumeau and continues around the entire tympanum, framing it. This floral motif, of course, refers to the Tree of Jesse, a common iconography derived from the Book of Isaiah 11:1 that rather literally describes the royal lineage of Jesus.

The portal and porch sculpture at Freiburg is like all of Strasbourg's west facade program in one space. The highly populated and animated tympanum is divided into three registers narrating the Infancy, Life, and Death of Christ and the Last Judgment (Figure 98). On the lower half of the bottom register, from right to left, appears an angel announcing the birth of Christ to a shepherd, a scene of the Nativity, and scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ (the Flagellation of Christ, the Arrest of Christ in the Garden

[119] Studies of the sculpture on the west facade include Emil Spath, *Das Tor zum Leben: Die Hauptportalhalle des Freiburger Münsters* (Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2005); Guido Linke, "Die Skulpturen der Westturmhalle," in *Das Freiburger Münster*, 2011, 194-199; Guido Linke, *Freiburger Münster: gotische Skulpturen der Turmvorhalle* (Berlin: Rombach, 2011).

of Gethsemane, and the Suicide of Judas).[120] Angels, bracketing both sides of the bottom register sound their trumpets announcing the Day of Judgment and waking the dead who rise from their tombs in the upper portion of the lower register. Interestingly, three Franciscan monks are among the risen, which perhaps attests to the growing presence and influence of the mendicant orders in Freiburg in the thirteenth century. In the center of all of this, the Archangel Michael weighs the souls of the dead to determine their fate.

In the lower portion of the central register, the Saved clasp their hands in prayer, while the Damned are led into the jaws of Hell by the devil. Seated on clouds immediately above the Saved and Damned are the twelve apostles. A crucified Christ appears exactly in the center of the tympanum, which happens to be in the second register, and is a culmination of the events in the lowest register and a precursor to those in the middle and top registers. Christ as Judge sits enthroned on the top register, flanked by Saint John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary. Six angels bearing the instruments of the Passion surround these figures. Complementing the New Testament scenes in the tympanum are the Old Testament figures in the archivolts.[121] The Old Testament history woven into the archivolt, when considered in conjunction with the New Testament histories in the tympanum, illustrates a concise yet comprehensive understanding of

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[120] The Suicide of Judas, while perhaps quite graphic to the modern viewer with his intestines spilling out, was not uncommon and could be found at the cathedrals of Reims, Strasbourg, and Benevent. Annette Weber, "The Hanged Judas at Freiburg Cathedral: Sources and Interpretations," in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representations and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period,* ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 169-171.

[121] The outermost archivolt shows such Old Testament figures as Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Ruth, and so on. The next archivolt illustrates the Kings of Judah, while the following archivolt represents prophets. The innermost archivolt shows angels. In the center of the four archivolts (reading from outer archivolt to inner) are the following figures: God, an angel with a sword, Jonah emerging from the whale, and an angel holding the sun, reminding the viewer that Christ is the true light.

Christianity, and the sculpture on the lateral walls of the porch builds on this and amplifies the message.

Thirty-seven large figures (although smaller than those at Strasbourg and Basel) are spread across the interior walls of the porch (Figure 99). To the left of the entrance doors in the jambs, the three Magi proceed toward the Virgin and Child on the trumeau. Occupying the fourth and final position on the interior west wall of the porch is a statue of Ecclesia wearing a cross and carrying a cross and chalice (Figure 100). In the opposite jambs, to the right of the door, stand Gabriel and the Virgin Mary of the Annunciation, the Visitation of Mary and Elizabeth (these two figures are together in one position), and Synagoga, who is blindfolded and carries a broken staff (Figure 101).[122]

The large figural sculpture extends across the south, west, and north lateral interior walls of the porch. As the sculptures on the lateral walls stand today, to Ecclesia's right stand the following figures, read from the north wall to the west wall: Christ, the five Wise Virgins, Mary Magdalena, Abraham, John the Baptist, an unidentified female saint, Zacharias, an angel, Voluptas, and the Fürst der Welt (Figures 102-103). Standing opposite these figures on the interior south and west walls and to Synagoga's left are the following figures: the five Foolish Virgins, the Seven Liberal Arts (Grammar, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy), Saint Margaret, and Saint Catherine (Figures 104-105). Scenes from the lives and martyrdoms of popular saints appear on the socles of all these figures.

[122] The figure of Synagoga has been restored. Originally her staff would have been slanted and she would have held a book of law in her hands.

The dating for the portal sculpture, around 1280-1290 (although the building of the porch began around 1270) is based largely on the construction history of the minster. Since construction on the Michaelskapelle, which is located directly above the porch on the second story, began in 1291, the portal construction and sculpture are likely to have been completed by then. The original arrangement of the portal sculptures has been the subject of much debate since the nineteenth century.[123] Early scholars were interested not only in the original arrangement of the sculptures but also in the symbolic meaning of their positions. A more recent attempt to consider the original arrangement and the meaning behind it was put forth by Achim Hubel and has generally been accepted by scholars.[124]

According to Hubel, the current arrangement is not the original, and exactly when the change or changes were made remains unclear (Figure 106). Despite this uncertainty, Hubel offers an original medieval plan, which repositions, among other things, the Fürst der Welt directly across from the figure of Christ, on the south wall next to Synagogue. In the current arrangement, the Fürst der Welt stands next to the figure of Voluptas against the short west wall of the porch. The placement of the Fürst der Welt sculpture next to the figures of the Foolish Virgins makes more sense, fits in with the standard mode of representation, and is similar to the proposed plan of the original Gothic porch sculpture at Basel. This suggested layout also underscores the divide between good and evil: negative figures (Synagogue, Fürst der Welt, Foolish Virgins, and Voluptas) stand

[123] For a review of this scholarship, see Achim Hubel, "Das ursprüngliche Programm der Skulpturen in der Vorhalle des Freiburger Münsters," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 11 (1974): 26-29.
[124] Hubel, "Das ursprüngliche Programm," 30-37 and fig. 10.

on the south wall while their good counterparts (Ecclesia, Christ, Wise Virgins, and an Angel) appear on the north wall. This physical divide of figures used to underscore moral division, was a format employed increasingly in the late thirteenth century. Not only was it an obvious division but it made the figures more legible to audiences who were conditioned to varying degrees to these biblical and moralizing stories.

Moral divisions and distinctions, I believe, were well suited for and could be amplified by the physical space and layout of a porch. When comparing the west portals at Strasbourg with the porches at Basel and Freiburg, the former offers a less dramatic presentation. The porches at Basel and Freiburg envelope the audience with good or bad figures to either side of them, forcing the viewer to become part of the stage and to choose to model himself or herself after the figures to his or her right (bad) or left (good). While the good-bad moral divide of the Wise and Foolish Virgins at Strasbourg is certainly present, the space does not force the viewer or audience into a moral dilemma or dialogue to the same degree that the Freiburg porch does.

In a similar fashion to Strasbourg and Basel, the moral character of the Fürst der Welt is superficially revealed through his iconography (Figures 9-10). The Fürst der Welt at Freiburg wears courtly garb and a hairstyle topped with a floral crown similar to those at Basel and Strasbourg. Uniquely, however, the Freiburg Fürst der Welt offers a flower, a reminder of the ephemerality of beauty, in his right hand and holds a pair of gloves, a symbol of courtly life, in his left. The back of his robe opens to reveal snakes and toads slithering up and down his body. The bust of an angel appears below the console of the Fürst der Welt and holds a banderole with the inscription “Nolite exire” or

"Do not go out," a passage from John 14:30 warning against the false messiah (Figure 107). Unlike the Virgins at Strasbourg and Basel, none of the Foolish Virgins at Freiburg appear flirty or unaffected by their poor judgment. Instead, the Freiburg Foolish Virgins appear saddened and modest. With the exception of two Foolish Virgins – one who places her hand upon her face and another who appears to cry out – those at Freiburg internalize their mourning and despair. In addition to some of the subtle and not-so-subtle gestures and expressions of the Foolish Virgins, their identity is revealed through the traditional inclusion of empty lamps that they hold downward with their right hands and by the uncovered hair of some. The Wise Virgins wear clothing similar to that of the Foolish Virgins, have covered hair, and carry their lamps upright. The figure of Christ standing next to them offers a sign of blessing and holds a Bible in his hand; the enclosure of the porch makes the moral divide more unavoidable. Much like at Strasbourg and Basel, the basic moral message of the Fürst der Welt could be deduced from his iconography alone; his placement within the arrangement of the Wise and Foolish Virgins simply added to this reading.

The sculptural program at Freiburg continues beyond the porch upward, where nearly thirty figural sculptures are peppered at varying heights throughout the tower. Traditional figures such as prophets and saints are interestingly complemented by waterspouts in figural form, representing the Seven Deadly Sins, and by the representation of four contemporary counts.[125] These figures are roughly contemporary

[125] The inclusion of counts is particularly interesting since they are dressed in contemporary garb and with contemporary hairstyles. One of the figures is presented as a judge with the typical gesture of a hand on his right knee. Judge figures were not uncommon in portal programs, although they did appear most often in

with the portal and porch sculpture, with dates ranging from 1270 until 1330. When considered together, all the exterior sculpture of varying size, placement, and visibility sought to illustrate, remind, or educate viewers about biblical and moral beliefs and practices, which were preached and glorified when one crossed the threshold of the church and entered into the sacred, interior space.

Similar to the west facade at Strasbourg, the west porch at Freiburg opens into the town square, suggesting that audiences often viewed the sculpture outside of the traditional context of entering or exiting the church or during a liturgical procession. In fact, the tiered stone benches that line the interior of the porch suggests that the space was used for gatherings such as trials. Engravings of measuring marks on the exterior wall of the porch further underscore the relationship between the space and civic activity; disputes at market could be settled in front of the church.

The examples of the Fürst der Welt at Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel emerged around the same time and belonged to large portal programs that were undoubtedly influenced by one another. And while they vary to certain degrees in iconography, placement, and context, their message is unified and absolute: these figures are embodiments of the world and warn against the temptations of excessiveness and unpreparedness that the world can offer. The near uniformity of their context in these

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the form of King Solomon. The south portal of Strasbourg originally bore a sculpture of King Solomon on the trumeau surrounded by the twelve apostles and figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga in the jambs. The physical space at Strasbourg, as well as at Freiburg, was relevant for such judging figures since it is believed that trials took place in the porch space at Freiburg and near the south portal of Strasbourg. The second figure appears as a count, wearing a prince's hat and with a dog at his foot. The two other sculptures have often been interpreted as Count Konrad I, who was buried in the minster after his death in 1271, and his successor and son, Count Egino II. These figures, in addition to the Fürst der Welt and one of the three Magi, are the only figures on the west facade with contemporary features, either in coiffeur or fashion.

Upper Rhine examples – that is, in larger programs of the Wise and Foolish Virgins – was challenged when the theme found its way into Bavaria in the first half of the fourteenth century. Though these examples are separated by time and terrain, they are no less important.

THE CHURCH OF ST. SEBALDUS IN NUREMBERG

Although the earliest Fürst der Welt and Frau Welt sculptures were confined to the Upper Rhine in the late thirteenth century, by the early fourteenth century the Fürst der Welt motif ventured east. Three examples of the Fürst der Welt survive in Bavaria and were perhaps transmitted by traveling masons and along trade routes that linked the Rhine to Bavaria.[126] Of the Bavarian examples, only one conforms to the traditional mode of representation regarding the Fürst der Welt: on a portal and as part of a larger program of the Parable of Wise and Foolish Virgins. This example comes from St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg (Figures 108-109).[127]

Saint Sebald was a popular saint in the Middle Ages in Franconia and Bavaria. There are several conflicting accounts of his life, although a common thread identifies him as a hermit who answered his call in Franconia and had a large following in

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[126] Extensive trade routes linked various parts of the Rhine to regions in Bavaria. In addition to transporting goods, cultural influences could travel the same routes. Joachim Bumke has discussed the transmission of literature and poetry as it relates to old trading routes between the two regions. See Bumke, 90-92.

[127] The most recent comprehensive study of St. Sebaldus is Gerhard Weilandt, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg* (Petersburg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2007). See also Moritz Maximilian Mayer, *Die Kirche des heiligen Sebaldus* (Nuremberg, 1831); Otto Schulz, "Die romanischen Bauteile der Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg und ihre Instandsetzung," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 58 (1908): 527-548; Heinrich Höhn, *Nürnberger gotische Plastik* (Nuremberg: J. L. Schrag, 1922); Walter Fries, *Die Sebalduskirche zu Nürnberg* (Burg bei Magdeburg: Hopfer, 1928); Eberhard Lutze, *Die Nürnberger Pfarrkirchen Sankt Sebald und Sankt Lorenz* (Berlin: Deutscherkunstverlag, 1939); Wilhelm Schwemmer and Martin Lagois, *Die Sebalduskirche zu Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Verlag Albert Hofmann, 1979).

Nuremberg. The growing presence and importance of the cult of Saint Sebald in Nuremberg was probably the main motivation behind the construction of the church in an already ecclesiastically dense city. Construction on the church was begun in the mid-thirteenth century, around 1225, and by 1255 Saint Sebald was officially named as its patron saint. Work was completed in 1274, when the church was consecrated. Not much is known about this Romanesque basilica, although from what remains of this campaign – eastern crypt, east transept, and two west towers – it seems clear that the builders or patrons would have looked to Bamberg cathedral. It also seems unlikely that this building was decorated heavily with sculpture; instead wall painting probably provided most of the ornamentation, although very little of it has survived.[128]

St. Sebaldus remained this way for nearly a quarter of a century, at which point, around 1300, a series of renovations and updates were undertaken, motivated by the growing importance of Saint Sebald and the increasing wealth of the patrons who funded this project. Work was completed from east to west, and among other things the aisles were widened, a second choir was built, and the nave was lengthened. To raise funds for these expansions, church assets were sold in 1309, and in 1310 indulgences were granted for those who lent a hand in the construction.[129] In addition to the interior renovations, the exterior was completely revamped and several new portals were added. This campaign saw the construction of two portals on the south side: the Last Judgment portal around 1310-1315 and the Three Kings portal around 1330. In addition, two portals on

[128] Weilandt, 21-24.
[129] Weilandt, 27.

the north side were constructed: the *Brautportal* (Bride Portal) around 1320 and the Coronation of the Virgin portal around 1310-1320 (Figure 110).

Today the Fürst der Welt sculpture stands on the interior wall of the church that leads out to the *Brautportal*, where the sculpture once originally stood (Figure 111). Of the two portals that adorn the north side of the church, the *Brautportal* is the easternmost. Aptly named, the portal was used during wedding ceremonies; the ceremony would be held in front of the portal and immediately following the marriage the party would enter the church and there would be a mass for the bride.[130] Considering the name and function of the portal, it is not surprising that sculptures of the Wise and Foolish Virgins comprise the main iconographic component. On either side of the portal doors five Virgins stand, with four in the jambs and the outermost one on the pier against the wall (Figures 112-113). In customary fashion, the Wise appear to the left side of the portal from the viewer's perspective, while the Foolish stand to the right. The figures are certainly in large scale but lack the monumental presence of their Upper Rhine predecessors. The smaller scale and proportions of the portal in general, however, might explain this.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins at St. Sebaldus are not part of a large, almost explosive, portal program like that at Strasbourg or Freiburg or the original Gothic portal at Basel. Instead, the decoration is modest and focuses tightly around the portal doors. Large statues of Saint Sebald and the Virgin and Child stand above the Virgins on the exterior piers. There is no carved tympanum (the glass is a modern addition, and it is not

[130] Weilandt, 39.

clear whether it replaced relief sculpture), and the archivolts are floral in theme. In the spandrels on either side of the tympanum are images of prophets. Over the second Virgin from the door on each side stand figures of Adam and Eve.[131] As the first Christian couple their presence on the *Brautportal* is fitting. Their inclusion can also be viewed as a typological statement: Eve's temptation in the Old Testament prefigures that of the Foolish Virgins' in the New Testament. A figure of God the Father appears centrally above the door.

The Fürst der Welt sculpture probably originally stood to the right of the Foolish Virgin on the exterior pier and with his back to her (Figures 11-12). This placement would be particularly interesting because he would not face the Foolish, which up until this point had been the traditional mode of depiction. At some point the Fürst der Welt sculpture was replaced by one of a crucifixion scene (which was later destroyed in World War II) and then in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century the Fürst der Welt was moved inside to its current location (Figure 114).[132] What was done with the Fürst der Welt sculpture between its replacement by the crucifix and subsequent placement in the interior is not clear. Whether it remained outside, was taken inside, or put in storage remains unknown. But what can be deduced is that the figure's ultimate and current placement inside the *Brautportal* tells us that there was at least some knowledge of him

[131] The coat of arms of the patrician family Vorchtel appears below Eve, while that of the patrician Muffel appears below Adam.

[132] It is not clear why the Fürst der Welt sculpture was removed from its original location in the first place, but it might be surmised that it was moved to protect it from the elements. Most of Wise and Foolish Virgin statues stand under the recessed gable and are thus partially protected from weathering; the spot where the Fürst der Welt stood is not. If one compares the current state of the Fürst der Welt sculpture and those of the Virgins, a difference is noticeable.

belonging to the group of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Adding to the uniqueness of the Nuremberg program is that there was never a figure of Christ to balance, symbolically and literally, the Fürst der Welt.

The Fürst der Welt at Nuremberg, like the other examples already discussed, was used here to reveal the moral squalidness of those preoccupied with worldly things and earthly beauty and to serve as an anti-model of how to live. As the ringleader of the Foolish Virgins, he embodies all things earthly: things that keep his followers, with their unpreparedness, from passing through doors with the bridegroom. Stylistically, the portal sculpture at Nuremberg, including the Fürst der Welt sculpture, is not as elegant as that at Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel. Rather, at Nuremberg the style, theme and general organization of the theme has been adopted and adapted to local taste and style.

While the Fürst der Welt at Nuremberg certainly bears the hallmarks of the type, it has not been fully explored or refined by sculptors. His mantel, for example, is quite simple in comparison to the earlier examples. His clothing and hairstyle undoubtedly are contemporary, but they lack subtle detailing and finesse; no floral crown graces his head, nor does he offer a flower or apple to lure the Foolish Virgins, although this might be explained by his original position with his back to them. Likewise, his subtle smile partially erased by the ravages of time is not nearly as convincing or deceptive as that of his Strasbourg counterpart. Not dissimilar from earlier examples, the mantel of the Fürst der Welt at Nuremberg opens in the back, but here his entire back is exposed, not just a sliver peeking through the mantle. Interestingly, we see his body anatomically rendered in the back: toads, snakes, and worms feast on his buttocks and slither in and out of his

rotting back and spinal cord. There also seems to be a human-faced demon peeking through the lower right corner of his mantel crease. This inclusion reiterates the negative nature of the Fürst der Welt and further emphasizes the deceptive nature of beauty and materialism.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins at Nuremberg share the sense of physical sameness that also appeared at Magdeburg. Here the Wise and Foolish Virgins wear similar dresses, and all leave their hair uncovered. What distinguishes the Wise from the Foolish, however, aside from their physical positions on the portal, are the lamps: the Wise hold their full lamps upright, while the Foolish hold theirs empty and downward. The nature of the Foolish also appears through their subtle gestures and expressions: many of them appear distressed and sad in their expressions, while others clasp their hands to their chests or have faces of despair and sadness.

The name of the *Brautportal*, as well as its iconography, are fitting considering its function, and are unique in their relationship to the specific function of the portal. The sculptural program not only illustrated a popular parable that offered varied readings, most importantly an eschatological one, but also served as a direct warning to the Nuremberg brides (and grooms) who were married before this portal.[133]

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[133] The interconnectedness between portal iconography and portal function is present in the portal of the Coronation of the Virgin on the north facade as well. The tympanum of this portal, which represents the Coronation of the Virgin and the Death of the Virgin, was aptly chosen for the functions that would take place there: the dead were brought through these portal doors and, if they were wealthy or important enough, were buried in the former graveyard just north of the church, which borders the smaller church of St. Maurice. It was also just inside these portal doors that baptisms were carried out. Thus, the north side and its portals played host to a devout Christian's entire circle of life: baptism, marriage, and death. Because the north side of the church was more public and frequented more often, there were lots of donations to this area. When one walked inside either north portal door one would see grand altarpieces and works of art commissioned and donated for this very special side of the church. In contrast, the south

While the Fürst der Welt and his accompanying Wise and Foolish Virgins were not executed with the same finesse or on the same grand scale as their Upper Rhine counterparts, this is an extremely important example that speaks to the vitality and popularity of the allegory in visual form outside the region of the Upper Rhine.

HAUS HEUPORT IN REGENSBURG

In stark contrast to the four sculptures of the Fürst der Welt examined to this point, the one at Regensburg appears in small scale and in a secular and private setting. Here the sculpture of the Fürst der Welt stands with only one Foolish Virgin, thus isolating the figure from the more familiar and larger narrative within a group, and is much smaller in scale. The two figures appear on the wall of the stairwell in the Haus Heuport, a one-time residence of wealthy patricians in Regensburg located directly across from the cathedral on the Domplatz (Figures 115-117). The Fürst der Welt faces the Foolish Virgin, tempting her with an apple in his right hand (Figures 13-14). As in the other examples, he wears courtly, contemporary clothing, and a fashionable hairstyle topped with a floral crown. From behind a snake slithers across the wall and onto his back. Oblivious to her fatal choice, the Foolish Virgin, clad in contemporary clothing and with uncovered hair, bears a wide smile and holds an empty lamp. The abbreviation of the parable at Regensburg is certainly accounted for by the private and domestic setting.

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portal doors were used less frequently and when they were it was often for administrative matters. For example, when the emperor visited the church he would kneel before the Three Kings' portal before entering. Very little is known about the west portal doors and their original function and decoration, but we can surmise that they were used more by the public than the reserved south portals.

The oldest part of the Haus Heuport dates to the twelfth century, but the earliest known resident is Carl Kratzer (d. 1355) who lived there during the first half of the fourteenth century.[134] Kratzer was a well-respected patrician and councilman, who earned his wealth through overseas trade and credit transactions, which may have taken him to the Upper Rhine or put him in contact with people who had traveled there. The sculptures belong to the first half of the fourteenth century and thus were probably commissioned under Kratzer's auspices. The residence has undergone several renovations and updates throughout the years, including a massive Baroque update whose remnants no longer remain, and thus it is hard to piece together the original Gothic context that accompanied the Fürst der Welt and Foolish Virgin sculptures. What remains architecturally from the Gothic period are the southern entrance, staircase, private chapel, and tower.[135] Although it is hard to get a sense of the original context in which the sculptures appeared, perhaps the more important question is: why do the sculptures appear in a private, secular setting?

While there is unfortunately no evidence to suggest one reason or another, I would argue that the presence of these two figures in this setting suggests the popularity of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, its increasing legibility outside traditional and larger contexts, the transmission and widening knowledge of the Fürst der Welt figure, and the overall concern with worldly things at this time. Given Kratzer's position

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[134] Martin Hoernes, *Die Hauskapellen des Regensburger Patriziats: Studien zu Bestand, Überlieferung und Funktion* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 2000), 141-154.

[135] Similarly, during modern renovations, fragments of Gothic wall paintings were discovered that would have been roughly contemporary with the sculptures. Hoernes, 147-151.

in society and stature, these figures might have reminded him where his priorities should lie, or perhaps the sculptures were intended to keep him in check and appropriately pious.

The Erminold Master, who, as previously discussed, was responsible for the early work on the original Gothic portal at Basel cathedral, was also active in the late thirteenth century in Regensburg. This artist is not thought to have created the sculptures at the Haus Heuport, as they are of a completely different style and of lesser quality, but it is possible that ideas for this theme and in particular the Fürst der Welt made their way to Regensburg through the Erminold Master, directly or indirectly.

CARMELITE CLOISTER IN BAMBERG

The last known example of the Fürst der Welt appears on a carved capital at the Carmelite cloister in Bamberg (Figures 118-119).[136] This was originally the site of a hospital dedicated to Saint Theodore, established by Bishop Eberhard I in 1030. Over one hundred years later, in 1157, two nunneries were added to the complex, St. Marien und St. Theodor. These nuns were originally Cistercian and later were Benedictine. Not much of the original structure survives, although the cloister with highly decorated capitals from the second half of the fourteenth century does.[137] The nunneries, including

[136] For more on the Carmelite cloister and its history, see J. Baier, "Das Kloster der beschuhten Karmeliten in Bamberg," *Kalender für Kathol. Christen. Sulzbach* 63 (1903); Theodor Henner, "Portal und Kreuzgang der Kirche zu St. Theodor (Karmelitenkirche) zu Bamberg," *Altfränkische Bilder* 9 (1903): 2; Ludwig Pfau and Hans Riedhammer, "Das Kloster zu St. Maria und Theodor in Bamberg," *Alt-Franken* 6 (1930): 105-109; Adalbert Deckert, "Das ehemalige Karmelitenkloster zu Bamberg in der Au," in *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* (Bamberg: Historischer Verein, 1952); Adalbert Deckert, "Verborgene Schönheit. Der Kreuzgang des Bamberger Karmelitenklosters," *Karmel-Stimmen* 19 (1952): 206-212. For descriptions and interpretations of the carved capitals in the cloister, see Bruno Müller, *Der Kreuzgang des Karmelitenklosters in Bamberg: Bestimmung und Deutung der Bildinhalte seiner Kapitelle* (Bamberg: Fränkischer Tag, 1961); Bruno Müller, *Der Bamberger Karmeliten-Kreuzgang* (Königstein im Taunus: Langewiesche, 1970).

[137] A date carved into one of the capitals, 1392, indicates the end of the construction.

the cloister, were plundered in 1525 by rebellious peasants, and twenty years later, in 1545, all of the assets were liquidated. By the end of the century, however, the Carmelites, who already had an establishment in Bamberg, had bought whatever was left of the cloister.

After secularization in 1803, the buildings were used for various purposes and suffered subsequent damage, including the removal and selling of the capitals and columns. But by 1903 the ruins and lot were bought back by the Carmelites, and they reinstalled most of the original columns and capitals in the cloister from the fourteenth century. Although the original arrangement of the columns and capitals is not certain, it appears that specific themes characterized the capital subjects of each wing. For example, the capitals on the east wing mostly illustrate scenes of salvation, while the capitals on the south mostly represent sin, punishment, and doomsday. The west wing shows the perishability of the world, and the north capitals illustrate heretics and godless people such as monsters, fantastic creatures, and demons.

Unlike the other examples of the Fürst der Welt, this image stands alone with no accompanying Wise or Foolish Virgins (Figures 15-16). Instead, the badly damaged capital on the west wing of the cloister shows the Fürst der Welt seated frontally in a contemporary robe with several buttons and a fashionable hairstyle, holding out an apple. No snakes, worms, or toads appear on his backside, for it is not exposed.[138] The two sides of the capital next to this image are badly damaged but seem to have once been

[138] Despite not appearing within the traditional context of the Wise and Foolish Virgins or with the standard animal iconography, Wolfgang Stammler identifies this figure as the Fürst der Welt based on the moralizing message. Wolfgang Stammler, *Frau Welt: Eine mittelalterliche Allegorie* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1959), 26-27.

floral motifs (Figure 120). On the opposite side of the capital there is a legible image of Phyllis riding Aristotle, a moralizing legend in which Aristotle was seduced by Phyllis and neglected his state duties (Figure 121). This was an entertaining story in the Middle Ages and also warned of the perils of being seduced by women. Read in this light, this motif was appropriately placed on the same capital as the Fürst der Welt, another image warning of temptation and worldly things.

Two other interesting images appear in carved capitals at the Carmelite cloister: a figure similar to Frau Welt, and the Foolish Virgins. Today both appear on the south wing. The capital on which the Foolish Virgins appear is divided into two registers. On the top register, Christ sits on a rainbow presenting his stigmata with two angels holding shrouds flanking him (Figure 122). On the lower register, Abraham receives a resuscitated man emerging from his grave, and three Foolish Virgins holding empty lamps appear. Wise Virgins are not present here on this small carved space; the three Foolish Virgins suffice to recall the whole parable.

The figure similar to Frau Welt has been labeled as such by Bruno Müller in his brief studies of the Carmelite cloister (Figure 123).[139] I would suggest, however, that it is not the same Frau Welt as the one at Worms cathedral or the one about which Walther von der Vogelweide or Konrad von Würzburg writes. The iconography, most importantly, is completely different. On the carved capital the woman sits on a bench and wears a large hat with a tassel and holds it with one of her hands. The standardized iconography of Frau Welt that became famous at Worms is completely absent here. This

[139] Müller, *Der Bamberger Karmeliten-Kreuzgang*, 36; Müller, *Der Kreuzgang des Karmelitenklosters*, 41.

figure does not refer to the Frau Welt allegory. It does, however, evoke many of the same characteristics. For example, the grotesquely large and exaggerated hat refers to excessiveness, materiality, and vanity, all vices that Frau Welt embodies. Similarly, this figure offers a smile suggesting her enjoyment of material things.

Nothing about the Fürst der Welt or the "Frau Welt" figure at Bamberg is traditional, considering the history of these two allegories in visual form. The images at Bamberg, first of all, appeared in a monastic setting for a specifically female audience, whereas the audiences for the examples in the Upper Rhine and in Nuremberg were broad and varied. Likewise, the figures do not appear in the context or manner that came to be established as standard by the Upper Rhine prototypes. Here the figures appear devoid of context – meaning, in the case of the Fürst der Welt, without other figures from the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins – which is quite interesting, since appreciating their message would require some sort of knowledge of the story. This, however, might not have been a concern since the audience was monastic and certainly familiar with the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the rejection of excessive materiality and vanity. These examples at Bamberg, much that like in Regensburg, provide interesting insight as to how the allegories were adopted and adapted for different audiences, and as their popularity grew, or perhaps as the education of their audience grew, they could be increasingly understood outside of the standardized contexts and iconographies established by the Upper Rhenish artists in the late thirteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The six extant sculptural examples of the Fürst der Welt are nearly uniform in iconography and message. The subtle differences lie in their context and surrounding environment. Whether situated in an ecclesiastical, monastic, or secular context, the original intent of this allegorical figure is not diluted: he represents the world and someone preoccupied with worldly things, and is an anti-world model, someone after whom the viewer was not to model himself or herself.

The iconographers, artists, and designers of the earliest examples of the Fürst der Welt undoubtedly took inspiration from the Frau Welt allegory, which at that point was known only on parchment, though many of its authors seem to have been active in the Upper Rhine. But unlike Frau Welt, the Fürst der Welt was not an uncommon feature on church portal programs. I believe this is because he was inserted into and eventually became part of a larger story, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins – a theme that was established, popular, and relevant in the Middle Ages and one that was appropriate for portal programs. Frau Welt, on the other hand, while nonetheless still popular and boasting an anti-world message embraced by the Church, had roots in courtly literature and was not easily integrated into a larger program that was recognizable and had deep roots in Christian teaching.

The iconographic modifications of the common and seemingly standard theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins begun in Strasbourg and adopted at Freiburg and Basel and eventually elsewhere in Germany suggest a growing interest in and understanding of the theme and recognition of its moralizing potential. The parable was quite commonplace

on Gothic portal programs in both France and Germany in the period preceding the construction of the west facade at Strasbourg. With the exception of the Magdeburg Virgins, these earlier examples of the Wise and Foolish Virgins on portal programs portray the figures in small scale and tucked away in secondary positions on the portal such as doorposts or archivolts. It is at Strasbourg that the theme first appears in both large scale and in a prominent position, and where the gradual amplification of moral distinction culminates. Here the Wise Virgins are distinguished from the Foolish Virgins in multiple ways. First, they are arranged in separate groups and from the good-bad perspective of the viewer. Next, gestures and expressions further indicate the moral divide: the Foolish Virgins appear mournful (with the exception of one excessively proud Foolish Virgin), while the Wise Virgins are prim and proper. Dress, surprisingly, is not used as a main distinguishing feature, although lamps and veils are. And last, the inclusion of the Fürst der Welt as a counterpart to Christ reinforces this reading. All these forms of distinction would have produced increased legibility on the part of the viewer; these visual clues were also obvious indicators of the Virgins' moral character. From Strasbourg onward, the parable stops being strictly about watchfulness and preparedness for the end of time, and a new element of morality and modesty is added to the mix and arguably takes center stage.

I postulate that the new emphasis on these figures, as evidenced by their size, placements, and other modifications, is a reflection of larger, broader interests in moralizing themes that sought to illustrate right and wrong conduct and behavior at this time and in this region. As the major building projects along the Upper Rhine in the late

thirteenth century, the portals of Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel exhibit a new emphasis on moralizing themes that was previously unknown. At Strasbourg, for example, two out of three of the portals on the west facade are dedicated to moralizing themes – the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the virtues and vices. Traditionally, the large-scale jamb figures of cathedral portals featured apostles, saints, prophets, or biblical figures; at Strasbourg, however, most of those figures have been relegated to the archivolts.[140] While moralizing themes in large scale made their debut at Magdeburg, it is at Strasbourg that they were expanded to an unprecedented level of prominence.

Observations regarding the new emphasis on moralizing themes are not new. In fact, they have been voiced by a handful of scholars. However, the reasons for the modifications to portal programs have only been hinted at and never fully developed. In his seminal 1972 study *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, Hans Reinhardt suggested underlying reasons for the thematic undertakings begun at Strasbourg but does not expound upon them. He writes:

> Thus the program of French cathedrals underwent curious modifications at Strasbourg. The traditional cycle of French portals was only followed in part. It is limited to the tympanum and archivolts. In the jambs of the side portals, in contrast, one sees allegorical figures. The story of the fate of the world gave way to elements of moral education. Should this remarkable fact be attributed to the local spirit, the new trends of the time, the influence of the mendicant orders, Franciscan and Dominicans, which played an important role in Alsace and whose center, for the whole of southern Germany was in Strasbourg? We can no longer decide.[141]

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[140] The exception to this is prophets, who appear in the jambs of the central portal at Strasbourg cathedral.

[141] The English translation is my own. "Ainsi le programme des cathédrales françaises a subi, à Strasbourg, des modifications curieuses. Le cycle historique des portails de France n'a été suivi qu'en partie. Il se limite aux tympans et aux voussures. Aux ébrasements des portails latéraux, par contre, on voit apparaître des figures allégoriques. Le récit du destin du Monde a fait place à un élément d'enseignement moral. Ce fait singulier, faut-il l'attribuer à l'esprit local, aux tendances nouvelles de

While the development and spread of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories are certainly part of an anti-world concern and campaign, their core message is moralizing in nature, and I believe it fits into a larger, overarching concern with proper and improper behavior advocated heavily in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries on the Upper Rhine. It is my contention, then, that these allegories did not develop and flourish out of a strictly anti-world dialogue, but out of a broader one that was concerned with the moral fabric of contemporary Christians and sought to steer them from bad behavior and guide them toward good conduct. And as seen at Strasbourg, Basel, and Freiburg, these concerns extended beyond the inclusion of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in portal programs to include other moralizing characters and divides. In order to bring the moralizing nature of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt full circle, it is necessary to consider the religious environment at this time and in this region and a new preoccupation with moral dilemmas.

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l'époque, à l'influence des ordres mendiants, des Cordeliers et des Prêcheurs, qui jouaient un rôle si important en Alsace et dont le centre, pour toute l'Allemagne du Sud, se trouvait à Strasbourg ? On ne saurait plus en décider." Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 1971, 127-128.

CHAPTER THREE
COURTLY FIGURES ON CHURCH FACADES: THE RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR CONTEXTS OF THE SCULPTED ALLEGORIES

For answers to the questions presented in the previous chapters, those concerning the geographical and temporal exclusivity of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories, we must turn to contemporary religious thought and practice, much of which was geared to combat the rise of courtly culture and the increase of material wealth and to bolster the morality integrity of medieval society beginning in the twelfth century. The development of these allegories is not the direct outcome of Christian doctrines or mandates but rather the indirect result of new ecclesiastical emphases and concerns that manifested themselves in textual and visual form. It therefore does not suffice to understand the exclusivities of these allegorical figures as simply regional preferences; these allegories were creative byproducts of ubiquitous ecclesiastical concerns.[1] The decades that brought these allegories of worldly extravagance into existence and, perhaps even more importantly, the periods leading up to them, were marked by significant changes within the Church. These ecclesiastical changes were not spearheaded by a single pope or ecclesiastic but were instead the results of several attempts at reform by multiple ecclesiastics that date back to the Gregorian Reform.

This chapter will explore the religious and societal influences to which the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories respond, specifically those of the Church and the newly influential culture of secular courts. I will argue that the Frau Welt and Fürst der

[1] August Closs believed these figures were regional preferences. August Closs, *Weltlohn, Teufelsbeichte, Waldbruder* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1934), 6.

Welt allegories were not simply isolated visual phenomena along the Upper Rhine, despite their early exclusive appearance there. These allegories were rather part of larger European shifts formulated and spearheaded by ecclesiastics in the twelfth century and implemented in the thirteenth by clerics and mendicants who were concerned with the moral fabric of medieval society. Generally speaking, moralizing themes and concerns that sought to make clear right from wrong and proper from improper conduct and behavior were not new in the Middle Ages; what was new is the unprecedented emphasis and attention that they received in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the legible and uncomplicated manner in which they were presented, due largely to mendicant orders, specifically the Dominicans. This was a time when worldly temptation and influences reached new heights, and it is out of this environment that the allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt emerged.

THE GREGORIAN REFORM

The Gregorian Reform was an international reform movement that sought to address the growing tension between the Church and State, among other moral and religious issues and abuses. Named after Pope Gregory VII (d. 1085), who oversaw much of the reform as pope and earlier as an archdeacon, the reform took place between roughly 1050 and 1080 in the form of canons, mandates, and decrees; at its core the reform sought to resolve the Investiture Controversy.[2] Based on the question of whether

[2] For more on the Investiture Controversy, see Schafer Williams, ed., *The Gregorian Epoch: Reformation, Revolution, Reaction?* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1964); Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Maureen Miller, *Power and the Holy in the Age of the Investiture Conflict: A Brief History with*

the Holy Roman Emperor had the authority to appoint bishops, this controversy concerned itself with the nature of imperial as opposed to papal power. Papal authorities concluded that papal power was independent of imperial power and that the emperor thus had no authority to appoint bishops.[3]

In response to the rapid economic and demographic growth of the eleventh century and increased wealth among ordinary people, the reform movement also indirectly brought issues of pastoral care and the *vita apostolica* (apostolic life) to the forefront of religious life.[4] Reformers took inspiration from the Gospels, specifically the

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Documents (Boston: Bedford, 2005).

[3] In addition to defining the relationship between the Church and the State, the Gregorian Reform also addressed the internal dealings of the Church with regard to monastic and clerical life. For monastics, the reform renewed the Rule of Saint Benedict and required a stricter adherence to it and an emphasis on manual labor. The reform also defined and elevated the role of the priest by increasing the importance and sanctity of the Eucharist. Now only three clerical orders (priests, deacons, and sub-deacons) could perform the sacrament, thus elevating the importance of the Eucharist and its handlers. Similarly, clerical celibacy became a requirement. On these issues, see Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085,* 659-676; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII and the Chastity of the Clergy," in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Garland, 1998), 269-304; Gary Macy, "Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages," in *A Companion to the Eurcharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 365-398.

[4] From the tenth through fourteenth centuries, there was unprecedented economic growth fostered by increased commercial and international trade, and as a result cities grew and so did their populations. The medieval economy was revolutionized indirectly by demographic growth that resulted in agricultural and technological progress (most notably the heavy plow and the three-field rotation of land), the production of more food and crops, and eventually commercial growth. As a result, new cities formed and existing ones became densely populated. And nowhere was this more intensely felt than in cities along trade routes. As a major trade artery, development along the Rhine exploded in the High Middle Ages as new towns were established and existing ones grew. For example, around 1150 there were seven cities between Mainz and Basel in an area about 280 kilometers in length and 40 kilometers in width, and by the mid-thirteenth century that number had grown to 34 towns. Furthermore, in the twelfth century there were 250 major cities in Germany and by the thirteenth century that number had grown to nearly 2,000. Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 41. For more on the commercial revolution and economic growth of the Middle Ages, see M. M. Postan, *Medieval Trade and Finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978); Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany 1056-1273*, trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Edwin S. Hunt and

Acts of the Apostles, in which the apostles embraced preaching, community, and poverty above all else.[5]

Returning to the ways of the primitive church of Christ and his apostles and their focus on poverty and preaching was an attempt to bolster the moral integrity of the Church during the reform era. Apostolic authority and *vita apostolica* were "vague in legislation," but its ideals were peppered throughout the mandates of the Gregorian Reform.[6] References to the early Church and apostolic life appeared consistently with mandates and titles of varying subjects brought about by the Gregorian Reform, despite no direct discussion of it.[7]

In the wake of the Gregorian Reform, new forms of religious life and experimentation began to emerge in the late eleventh century and continued through the thirteenth century. These new religious movements took different shapes and attracted more diverse participants than ever before. These religious orders and sects were

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James M. Murray, *A History of Business in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott, eds., *Poverty and Prosperity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

[5] Acts 2:44-47 and 4:32-35, Luke 10: 1-12, and Matthew 19:21 were commonly looked to for apostolic guidance and perfection. See Ernest W. McDonnell, "The *Vita Apostolica:* Diversity or Dissent," *Church History* 24 (1955): 15-31.

[6] McDonnell, 17.

[7] Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 8. For example, in a letter addressed to the people of Bohemia, Pope Gregory VII encouraged them to abandon worldly things and focus on the life hereafter: "Do you, therefore, dearly beloved, flee carnal desires; raise up your minds to the heavenly and everlasting joys of the heavenly country; by faithfulness in most devoted service make your debtor blessed Peter, to whom the power of both binding on earth and loosing in heaven has principally been given; so that, after the dissolution of our earthly habitation to which willingly or unwillingly you are daily approaching, not long afterwards to be returned to worms and ashes, you may experience his most excellent patronage before the severe Judge." H. E. J. Cowdrey, trans., *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.72, 167. Similarly, Pope Urban II (d. 1099) permitted a group of laymen living together and stated that they are "all the more worthy to be perpetuated since the image of the primitive church is imprinted on them." McDonnell, 19.

informed to varying degrees by the renewed ideals of the *vita apostolica* promulgated by the reform movement, which "charted the path of both reform and rebellion."[8] Some of these groups were supported by the papacy, and their charisma was harnessed as a way to illustrate the newly reformed papacy, while others were anti-clerical in nature and thus were condemned by the papacy.[9] The growth and proliferation of these heretical groups presented the Church with a new set of problems: how to identify heretics and what to do with them once they were discovered. While these questions were partially touched upon in the twelfth century, they were addressed thoroughly at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Thus, the twelfth century became a period of papal reaction to these new religious movements.

NEW RELIGIOUS EMPHASES: TEACH BY EXAMPLE

Alongside the development of new religious orders and movements in the twelfth century, new emphases rooted in the *vita apostolica* were placed at the center of religious life and became commonplace by the thirteenth century. In her revealing study on the distinction between monastic and canonical orders in the twelfth century, Caroline Walker Bynum has shown that both groups were devoted to "service of others, poverty, and interior spirituality" and shared the same commitment to cloistered life, flight from

[8] McDonnell, 28.

[9] Early groups to emerge that were almost immediately approved by the Church include the Carthusians, Cistercians, and Premonstatensians. Much like the approved new groups, the dissenting groups sought to follow the *vita apostolica*. However, they did this to such an extreme that they failed to recognize the hierarchical Church. Such groups include the Cathars, Waldensians, and Humiliati; the Humiliati were later approved in 1203. For more on these new religious movements, see Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages.*

the world, and search for God.[10] What distinguished the canons from their monastic counterparts, however, was their devotion to the edification of their neighbors and brethren by setting examples *verbo et exemplo* (by word and deed).[11] Following the Rule of Saint Augustine, regular canons took to heart the Augustinian teaching to "endeavor to impress by your manner of life, not by the clothes you wear."[12] Furthermore, the Rule required that "everything you do is to be for the service of the community, and you are to work with more zeal and more enthusiasm than if each person were merely working for himself and not his own interests."[13]

Beyond the Rule of Saint Augustine, Bynum examines dozens of canonical treatises and argues that canons, by their own definition, had an obligation to edify others. Such a responsibility was most often conveyed in texts by the phrase *docere verbo et exemplo*, to teach by word and deed. Canonical authors stressed their role as teachers of morality and emphasized the importance of word (or intent) and deed; they were to use their words and deeds as agents for education.

The emphasis on teaching by example – whether by word or deed – dates further back than the twelfth century. In fact, this method of teaching is rooted in the Bible.

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[10] Caroline Walker Bynum, *"Docere Verbo et Exemplo": An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula, MO: Scholars Press, 1979), 2.

[11] C. Stephen Jaeger has also discussed the use of teaching by example in his study on the history of learning. He argues that in the eleventh century imitation of the teachers was the favored mode of pedagogy and that morality was a favored theme. He rightly notes that, by the late eleventh century and into the twelfth century, the theme was embraced among regular canons. C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval* Europe 950-1200 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 76-87.

[12] Augustine, *Rule of St. Augustine. Masculine and Feminine Versions*, trans. Raymond Canning (Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1986), 15.

[13] Augustine, *Rule of St. Augustine*, 19. The communal aspects of the Rule of Saint Augustine are modeled from Acts 4: 32: "The whole group of believers was united, heart and soul; no one claimed private ownership of any possessions, as everything they owned was held in common."

Both the Old and New Testaments are peppered with lines and stories that advocate teaching by example. One of the most cited passages by theologians on the topic was a line from 1 Timothy 4:12: "Let no man despise thy youth: but be thou an example of the faithful in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in chastity."[14]

Being an example for others to imitate, as preached in the Bible, was discussed further by the Church Fathers and medieval theologians. In *Pastoral Care*, Pope Gregory I (d. 604) discusses at length the importance of the preacher teaching by example through speech and behavior. He writes:

> He [the preacher], therefore – indeed, he precisely – must devote himself entirely to setting an ideal of living… In all that he does he sets an example so inspiring to all others, that in their regard he has no cause to be ashamed of his past. He so studies to live as to be able to water the dry hearts of others with the streams of instruction imparted.[15]

Later in the work, Pope Gregory I speaks in favor of the exemplary conduct of a preacher:

> [He] should be exemplary in his conduct, that by his manner of life he may show the way of life to his subjects, and that the flock, following the teaching and conduct of its shepherd, may proceed the better through example rather than words….He should not only do what is upright in the midst of the wicked, but also surpass the well-doers among his subjects, and as he surpasses them in dignity of his rank, so should he in the virtue of his conduct.[16]

Pope Gregory I's works were the most authoritative voice on the theme of pastoral care and the role and responsibilities of the preacher. In fact, his works were referenced frequently by twelfth-century theologians who, inspired by the Gregorian Reform, sought

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[14] Biblical passages that promote teaching by example are plentiful and are too numerous to list. See, for example, Hebrews 13:7; 1 Peter 5:3; 1 Corinthians 11:1; Philippians 3:17.

[15] Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care*, trans. Henry Davis (Wesminster: The Newman Press, 1950), book 1, chapter 10, 38-39.

[16] Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care*, Book 2, Chapter 3, 48-49.

to return to the ways of the primitive Church, where preachers taught by word and example.

In MS Ottoboni Lat. 175, a late eleventh or early twelfth-century compendium of instructional texts for canons, the author writes that the canons ought to:

> instruct according to the laws and morals of the Fathers, to correct, comfort and rebuke disciples by the words of holy doctrine, [and] to establish and nourish [them] for the purpose of guarding it – it is right that they should be moved by fear, broadened by hope, inflamed by charity, adorned with knowledge, outstanding in the light of the faith and in purity of life. And it is fitting that they have in themselves what they preach to others, lest they displease God and become reprobate to men. They ought to be preachers of – they ought also to be participants in – both lives, that is the active and contemplative.[17]

Likewise in *Expositio in regulam Beati Augustini*, an early twelfth-century text devoted to the spiritual guidance of canons, the anonymous author views communal living as an opportunity for one canon to learn from another: "for this purpose we live together, that we watch over each other, correct each other, instruct each other…."[18]

The teach-by-example method and broader interest in conduct, actions, behavior, and words as educational tools and models was at the very core of canonical life by the twelfth century, as evidenced by canonical discussions of edification, but by the end of the century it penetrated beyond that specific genre of literature and made its way into pastoral literature and preaching guides, suggesting that its methods and message extended beyond the confines of any cloister and were to be espoused in the public sphere for lay audiences.

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[17] Bynum, 36. MS Ottoboni Lat. 175 is housed at the Vatican Library. See also Jean Leclercq, "Un témoignage sur l'influence de Grégoire VII dans la réforme canoniale," *Studi Gregoriani* 6 (1959-1961): 181-82.

[18] Bynum, 41.

In the *Art of Preaching*, Alain de Lille (d. 1202) describes the ideal nature of the preacher in Chapter 38:

> [The preacher] should also be faithful in his actions, so that what he does he may do with a right intention, and that he may set God as the end of his deeds. And so he should be wise in deed and in word. In word, that he may know what things must be said in preaching, and what must not. In deed, that he may know to whom and when he must preach – that is, he should preach on more important themes on more important occasions and less difficult matters on less important.[19]

As a guide for future preachers, Alain's work emphasized the importance of the preacher's words and actions as models for those listening. This idea appeared elsewhere in pastoral literature and preaching manuals of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[20] The figures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt seem to reflect this new emphasis on teaching by example and the importance of one's actions and words as models for others; the figures themselves and their immediate context illustrate proper and improper behavior. Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt had the potential to teach viewers in a visual manner how to and how not to conduct themselves.

NEW RELIGIOUS EMPHASES: MORALITY

Related to the revival of the teach-by-example method was the revolutionizing of the role of morality in the twelfth century, which, too, was rooted in the *vita apostolica*

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[19] Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. Gillian R. Evans (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 143.

[20] Related to the method of teaching by example in word and deed was a new emphasis beginning in the twelfth century on intention, or the thought behind an action or deed. Whereas early medieval theologians focused on one's physical actions, by the twelfth century the emphasis shifted to the virtuous and vicious intentions that led to a physical human act. According to István Bejczy, "the moral value of human behavior was believed to reside in the inner motives of the agent rather than in the outer aspects of his deeds." This interest in motives goes hand-in-hand with the twelfth-century revival of Augustine's moral teachings that stressed intention and good will above action. István Bejczy, "Deeds Without Value: Exploring a Weak Spot in Abelard's Ethics," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 70 (2003): 1.

and the ways of the primitive church. Moral thought and morality – distinguishing right from wrong and recognizing good from bad behavior – now stood at the forefront of twelfth-century religious life and were disseminated broadly through sermons that featured moralizing themes. Many texts that discussed the principles of moral conduct were exaggerated and amplified in order to captivate the individual – reading or listening – and to help steer him or her from wrongdoing.

Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) was a particularly strong proponent of exaggerated metaphors and descriptive stories, or exempla, as a means to teach morality and attract the interest of lay listeners.[21] To make a point about the temptation of carnal love, for example, Jacques recounts the tale of a matron and a monk.[22] In this lengthy tale, he recalls how their spiritual love, when tempted by the devil, turned into carnal love. After eloping with the treasures of the monastery, the matron and the monk finally came to their senses and realized their wrongdoings. They then prayed to the Virgin Mary for forgiveness. Jacques ended the story with a warning: "Behold how great infamy and scandal and how inestimable damage the devil would have wrought against religious persons, if the blessed Virgin had not aided them."[23]

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[21] Jacques de Vitry's *Historia occidentalis*, *Sermones vulgares*, and *Sermones communes sive cotidiani*, all contained a significant number of exempla, metaphors, and illustrative stories. See Thomas Frederick Crane, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the* Sermones Vulgares *of Jacques de Vitry* (London: Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, 1890); Joseph Greven, *Die Exempla aus den* Sermones feriales et communes *des Jakob von Vitry* (Heidelberg: Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, 1914); Goswin Frenken, *Die Exempla des Jakob von Vitry* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1914); John Frederick Hinnebusch, *The* Historia Occidentalis *of Jacques de Vitry* (Fribourg: The University Press Fribourg Switzerland, 1972).

[22] Dana Carleton Munro, ed., *Monastic Tales of the Thirteenth Century*. *Original Sources of European History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1902), 2: 2-4. Original Latin published in Crane, 117-119.

[23] Munro, 2: 4.

The theme of the virtues and vices became a standard tool to address moral questions, and the theme spread rapidly in text and visual art beginning in the twelfth century.[24] The virtues and vices are qualities and characteristics that originated in ancient Greece but were adopted by early Christians as a way to teach abstracted good and bad behavior in a tangible manner. Richard Newhauser has argued convincingly that as a means to "anchor a spiritual perspective," the virtues and vices of the High and Later Middle Ages gave guidance and structure for permissible and dismissible behavior and conduct.[25] The virtues and vices played an important role in preaching, confession, and penance in the post-Gregorian Reform era; the theme provided tangible and memorable counsel for readers and listeners on how to live virtuously, what to avoid, and how to behave. In fact, Pope Innocent III (d. 1216) was well aware of the potential of the virtues and vices and summoned the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 "to uproot vices and plant virtues, to correct excesses and reform morals, to eliminate heresies and strengthen the faith."[26]

Returning to Alain de Lille's *Art of Preaching,* each of the Seven Deadly Sins (vices) is the topic of a chapter, suggesting further the importance of this theme for preachers and its effectiveness with audiences.[27] He began each of the chapters on the Seven Deadly Sins with recommended biblical passages, an explanation of the texts, and advice on how to combat the vice. For example, on sloth, he recalls several lines from

[24] The virtues and vices in visual form will be discussed in Chapter Four.
[25] Richard Newhauser, "Introduction," in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), viii.
[26] Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession 1150-1300* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 16.
[27] Chapters 4-10 in Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*.

Ephesians as scriptural authority on which the preacher can base his sermon. From there Alain defines sloth:

> Dearly-beloved brethren, see how Scripture arms us against sloth and laziness. It is sloth which draws back the Christian's hand from the plough; which looks with Lot's wife back at Sodom; which like Lot fears to climb the mountain; which like Ruth does not want to return to Bethlehem…It is sloth which desires more delicate foods at meals, which wishes to lie on softer beds and to be less often present at vigils. It is willing to keep silence only for a short time, or not at all. It is sloth which is reluctant to tackle a great task, and grows weary of a task it has begun. Everything is burdensome and difficult to sloth, and nothing is easy.[28]

To avoid living slothfully or to combat such a lifestyle, he prescribes living virtuously:

> This is the idleness which delivers a man unarmed into the hands of the devil, exposes him naked to the suggestion of evil doing and, weak, to temptation. This deprives a man of spiritual benefits – the garment of virtues…Make use of every hour; turn every moment to profit, that at least you may offer God the last remains of old age, although you gave the devil the flower of your youth. At least in old age, you may be the soldier of Christ, although when you were young you were the slave of the devil.[29]

Similarly, in *On the Art of Preaching* Guillaume d'Auvergne (d. 1249) supported the use of moral themes in preaching: "the vehement deprecation of the vices and the commendation of the virtues are very useful in preaching."[30] He also discussed the virtues and vices in a much lengthier treatise, *On the Virtues and Vices*.[31]

Humbert de Romans, fifth Master of the Order of the Dominican from 1254 until 1277, composed a two-part treatise, *De erudition praedicatorum*, as a practical guide for

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[28] Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching,* 43.
[29] Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, 46.
[30] Siegfried Wenzel, "Vices, Virtues, and Popular Preaching," in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies. Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Summer 1974*, ed. Dale B. J. Randall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1976), 31. See also A. de Poorter, "Un manuel de predication médiéval: Le MS. 97 de Bruges," *Reuve néoscolastique de philosophie* 25 (1923): 192-209.
[31] William of Auvergne, *On the Virtues*. *Part One of On the Virtues and Vices*, trans. Roland J. Teske (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2009).

preachers that addressed the qualities of a good preacher and outlined subjects for over 250 sermons geared to specific audiences.[32] In it he contended that the theme of the virtues and vices is a topic that preachers ought to broach regularly. He also advocated preachers teaching by example, stating "it is the duty of a preacher to live in such a way that he glorifies God, not only by his words, but also by his example."[33]

The new focus on the virtues and vices also gave rise to a body of literature that concerned itself with the dangers of vices hidden behind superficial virtues. Related to the increased focus on intention in the twelfth century, theologians now took up the issue of false virtue. For example, Honorius of Autun (d. 1154) believed that one should not embark on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with "excessive curiosity, love of praise, or money gained illegally."[34] Heinrich von Freimar the Elder (d. 1340), an Augustinian monk near Erfurt, wrote a treatise *On Vices Distinguishing Themselves as Virtues*, which discusses the importance of distinguishing false virtue (i.e., vices hidden behind virtues) and true virtue.[35] The Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories share this idea of concealment, as their true, rotten nature is cloaked by a superficial and attractive facade.

The theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, which accompanied the Fürst der Welt at five of our sites, also elaborates a moral theme and offers instruction through the

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[32] M. Michèle Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent in Study...:" Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 478. The first part of Humbert's treatise is published as Humbert de Romans, *Liber de eruditione praedicatorum*, in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier (1888; repr., Turin: 1956), 2: 373-484.

[33] Humbert of Romans, *Treatise on Preaching*, trans. Dominican Students Province of St. Joseph, ed. Walter M. Conlon (Westminster, MD, Newman Press, 1951), 92.

[34] Richard Newhauser, "Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase," in Richard Newhauser, *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Age*s (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 567.

[35] Richard Newhauser, "On Ambiguity in Moral Theology: When the Vices Masquerade as Virtues," in *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages*, 21.

actions, or lack thereof, of the main characters. As previously discussed, one could look to the Wise Virgins as models of how to live virtuously, as they came prepared, while the Foolish Virgins stood as unequipped negative counterparts.

Many of the authors who discussed morality and sought to distinguish right from wrong did so by creating sharp distinctions and dichotomies by discussing good, virtuous behavior in contrast to negative, bad behavior. This discourse of opposites in twelfth-century thought has been studied by Constance Brittian Bouchard, who has argued that "by putting a tension between opposing positions into the foreground, twelfth-century theologians were able to find a way to begin to resolve the difficulties of their divergent authorities, none of which could simply be labeled wrong."[36] In his *Theologia Scholarium*, for example, Peter Abelard (d. 1142) used opposites to make a theological point about Salvation:

> How cruel and iniquitous it may seem that someone should require the blood of an innocent person as the price for anything, or that he should be in any way pleased that an innocent person should be killed, and yet God found the death of his Son so acceptable that through it he was reconciled to the entire world.[37]

Although many twelfth-century theologians, such as Peter Abelard, used the discourse of opposites to form coherent arguments, by the thirteenth century cruder forms of opposites (i.e. good versus evil, virtues and vices) began to replace such eloquent discussions of tension. Thirteenth-century theologians "cut through the web of detailed commentaries developed in the previous hundred years in favor of a comprehensive, unitary answer";

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[36] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *"Every Valley Shall Be Exalted:" The Discourse of Opposites in Twelfth-Century Thought* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 56.
[37] Bouchard, 39.

their oppositions were clear and simple.[38] It would seem that Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt and their immediate contexts are the visual counterparts of this discourse of opposites, as oppositions are used to reveal a lucid message.

The refocus on specific religious emphases beginning in the twelfth century, such as teaching by example, moralizing theology, and the discourse of opposites, were further and officially underscored by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Following this council, the themes that had preoccupied twelfth-century spirituality and theologians began to saturate the laity through new mandates and the rise of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century.

THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL IN 1215

The twelfth century was a period of religious experimentation, when many new movements and groups formed in response to the appeals of the Gregorian Reform to return to the ways of the primitive Church. The Church, however, deemed many of these newly formed groups heretical, and it was at Lateran IV that the approved groups were differentiated from dissenting ones and that the Albigensian Crusade, or crusade against heretics, was officially declared. Canon Three of Lateran IV states:

> We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy that raises against the holy, orthodox and Catholic faith which we have above explained; condemning all heretics under whatever names they may be known, for while they have different faces they are nevertheless bound to each other by their tails, since in all of them vanity is a common element. Those condemned, being handed over to the secular rulers of their bailiffs, let them be abandoned, to be punished with due justice, clerics being first degraded from their orders. As to the property of the

[38] Bouchard, 149.

> condemned, if they are laymen, let it be confiscated; if clerics, let it be applied to the churches from which they received revenues.[39]

And while many heretical groups were concentrated in southern France in the twelfth century, by the early decades of the thirteenth century many began to infiltrate areas along the Rhine where they were not as warmly welcomed. For example, in 1211 in Strasbourg, eighty Waldensians were made an example and burned at the stake for their heretical beliefs.

Aside from sifting out heretical groups, and perhaps most important for this study, Lateran IV reemphasized the importance of pastoral care and preaching. The council decreed that bishops were to appoint men to preach to their congregation, if they were not able or willing, and to make preaching more available:

> Because as the body is nourished by material food, so is the soul nourished by spiritual food, since "not in bread alone doth man live but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4: 4). It often happens that bishops, on account of their manifold duties or bodily infirmities, or because of hostile invasions or other reasons, to say nothing of lack of learning, which must be absolutely condemned in them and is not to be tolerated in the future, are themselves unable to minister the word of God to the people, especially in large and widespread dioceses. Wherefore we decree that bishops provide suitable men, powerful in work and word, to exercise with fruitful result the office of preaching; who in place of the bishops, since these cannot do it, diligently visiting the people committed to them, may instruct them by word and example…Wherefore we command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls.[40]

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[39] "Canon 3, Twelfth Ecumenical Council, Lateran IV 1215," http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp (accessed August 26, 2014).
[40] "Canon 10 of the Twelfth Ecumenical Council, Lateran IV 1215," http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp (accessed August 26, 2014).

Furthermore, the council mandated annual confession of all Christians.[41] Pope Innocent III, however, did not stop at having priests simply hear confession; rather, he encouraged confessors to remedy the root of the individual's sin. He compared this process to a doctor healing a wound:

> Let the priest be discreet and cautious that he may pour wine and oil into the wounds of the one injured after the manner of a skillful physician, carefully inquiring into the circumstances of the sinner and the sin, from the nature of which he may understand what kind of advice to give and what remedy to apply, making use of different experiments to heal the sick one.[42]

The new pastoral concerns and requirements mandated by Lateran IV had two main outcomes central to this study. First, they resulted in the demand for priests to undertake preaching and to hear confession. And second, they resulted in the increase and promulgation of a new genre of literature that sought to instruct priests on how to fulfill these new pastoral requirements. And it is out of the demands for preaching and confession that the mendicant orders proliferated.

THE DOMINICANS

The mendicant orders – a term used to denote religious orders that emerged in the thirteenth century who, spurred by the ideals of evangelical perfection, renounced personal property and depended on charity and almsgiving – served as a strong and

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[41] "All the faithful of both sexes shall after they have reached the age of discretion faithfully confess all their sins at least once a year to their own (parish) priest and perform to the best of their ability the penance imposed, receiving reverently at least at Easter the sacrament of the Eucharist, unless perchance at the advice of their own priest they may for a good reason abstain for a time from its reception; otherwise they shall be cut off from the Church (excommunicated) during life and deprived of Christian burial in death." "Canon 21 of the Twelfth Ecumenical Council, Lateran IV 1215," http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp (accessed August 26, 2014). For more on confession in the Middle Ages, see Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis eds., *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1998).

[42] "Canon 21 of the Twelfth Ecumenical Council, Lateran IV 1215," http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp (accessed August 26, 2014).

successful link between the Church mandates of Lateran IV and the laity through their popular preaching. The mendicant orders comprised the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Servites, and Augustinians, along with other lesser orders, but it was the Franciscans and the Dominicans that had a particularly strong presence along the Rhine, as this was a major center for urban and economic growth. And it was the Dominicans' presence and the promulgation of their teachings, in particular, that set the stage for the visualization of the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories. I argue that Dominican teachings and spiritual strategies played an indirect, yet critical, role in the formation of ideas that brought these allegorical sculptures into existence.

The Dominican Order, or Order of Preachers, was established in 1215 by Saint Dominic, an Augustinian monk, to help combat the Albigensian heresy. Five years later, in May 1220, the Dominican order gathered to establish its formal identity by means of a constitution:

> Our order is recognized as having been especially instituted from the beginning for preaching and the salvation of souls, and our study should be principally and ardently directed to this end with the greatest industry so that we can be useful to the souls of our neighbors.[43]

Whereas the Franciscans established houses in both rural and urban settings along the Rhine, the Dominicans founded houses almost exclusively in cities (Figure 124). In Teutonia (a province that comprised most of modern Germany), the Dominicans first settled in the 1220s in ecclesiastical and commercial centers where they could rely on an

[43] Mulchahey, 3.

audience for preaching, alms to live on, and potential recruits.[44] It was also in these urban settlements that the friars encountered more sinful and heretical behavior associated with economic and demographic growth, and their evangelical potential became even more potent.[45] Thus, the earliest settlements were situated along major trade routes, such as the Rhine, Danube, Main, Moselle, and Elbe rivers. In fact, most of the cities central to this study had early Dominican foundation dates: Strasbourg in 1224; Worms in 1226; Regensburg in 1229; Basel in 1233; Freiburg in 1233; and Nuremberg about 1275.[46] Despite the large population and the pastoral potential that came with many of these established cities, the friars often came across competition with existing foundations and churches. For example, in Cologne there were already sixteen parish churches by the time the Franciscans and Dominicans founded houses there.[47] John Freed has rightly noted that because of this, "the friars performed their most valuable services in the newer towns and in the economically underdeveloped regions."[48]

Whereas the Lower Rhine and Low Countries were highly urbanized and established areas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many cities along the Upper Rhine, particularly Swabia and Alsace, were not. Many cities in these regions were not founded until the first half of the thirteenth century (by the Hohenstaufen dynasty) and

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[44] Parts of the modern Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, former Yugoslavia, Czech Republic, Poland, and Russia were also part of Teutonia.

[45] Many of the heretical sects that developed in the twelfth century were closely linked with cities and urbanization. See Grundmann, *Religious Movements,* 209-235.

[46] For a list of the foundation dates of Dominican houses in Teutonia, see Appendix XII in John B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1977), 212-221.

[47] Freed, *The Friars and German Society,* 25.

[48] Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 25.

only began to prosper and develop in the second half of the century. A contemporary Dominican from Colmar observed his

> native Alsace, for instance, as an extremely backward area in 1200, which had undergone enormous changes, in the chronicler's opinion for the better, in the intervening century. He specifically mentioned that in 1200 the two most important Alsatian cities, Basel and Strasbourg, had been small, rather insignificant towns with inadequate fortifications and that such towns as Colmar, Sélestat, Rouffach, Mulhouse, and many others had not existed at all.[49]

In the newly established and developing cities along the Upper Rhine and in southwest Germany, the recently formed and motivated mendicant orders encountered less spiritual competition than in the Lower Rhine and were able to establish foundations with relative ease. The Dominican friar from Colmar also noted that in these new cities, especially in Alsace, there was a shortage of priests, and that the mendicant orders helped to remedy this.[50] While cities along the Upper Rhine benefited equally from the foundations of both Dominican and Franciscan houses, it was the Dominicans who established a particularly strong presence early on that came to shape the spirituality of the region. While the Dominicans were active in founding and establishing houses and a presence in these cities, the relative unpreparedness of the Franciscans helped to solidify the Dominican stronghold in the Upper Rhine in the first half of the thirteenth century.[51]

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[49] John. B. Freed, "Urban Development and the 'Cura Monialium' in Thirteenth-Century Germany," *Viator* 3 (1972): 321-322. Original text in Karl Köster, "Die Geschichtsschreibung der kolmarer Dominikaner im 13. Jahrhundert," *Elsass-lothringisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1952): 52-63, 81-88. On the founding of Hohenstaufen cities, see Karl Weller, "Die staufische Städtegründung in Schwaben," *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte* 36 (1930): 195-294.

[50] Freed, *The Friars and Germany Society*, 48.

[51] The major problem for the Franciscans was their shortage of priests; they had foundations filled with laymen, none of whom could administer sacraments and preach. So dire was the Franciscan situation that in 1223 the houses in Worms, Mainz, and Speyer were under the care of a single priest, Jordan von Giano. It was not until the 1240s, when the Franciscans restructured themselves into an order of clerics (modeled after the Dominicans), that they could begin to compete and to claim some spiritual territory. It was,

The great success of the Dominicans in the Upper Rhine also has to do with their pivotal role in the intellectual life of the region. Whereas the university was the major center of learning in Paris and Oxford, among other places, many universities in the Upper Rhine were not established until the fifteenth century. Dominican convents thus served as the primary educational source in the region.[52] And while Dominican conventual schools sought to provide practical education for friars in their work as preachers, confessors, and priests, the secular clergy was often educated there, as well as the laity.[53] The Dominicans and their teachings were therefore responsible for much of the education along the Upper Rhine.

During the first fifty years after their arrival in Teutonia, including the Upper Rhine, the expansion of the Dominican Order partially related to external factors; their growth waned in the mid-thirteenth century as the Hohenstaufen dynasty broke down, and accelerated rapidly after 1270 when urbanization proceeded at an unprecedented rate. By 1250, the Dominicans had established thirty-eight houses in Teutonia and by the start of the fourteenth century that number nearly tripled to one hundred eleven (Figure 125).[54] The rapid growth of the Dominican order in the second half of the thirteenth century is attributed not only to urbanization but also to the friars' popularity among the laity and, often, the clergy.

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however, in many cases too late for them to compete seriously with the deeply rooted Dominicans in the region. Freed, "Urban Development and the 'Cura Monialium,'" 232.

[52] Mulchahey, 351-384.

[53] Mulchahey, xi.

[54] In comparison, the Franciscans, who founded houses rapidly and widely, had 100 houses by 1250 and nearly 200 by 1300 in territories that would have been regarded as German by the Franciscan provincial structure. Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 51.

Laymen and clergymen often welcomed the Dominicans into their cities with open arms, as a house of the order was a direct symbol of the status of the town. The laity enjoyed the preaching methods and accessibility of the friars, while the clergy were often relieved by their aid in preaching and administration of the sacraments. So sought-after were the Dominicans that they were "recruited" actively by cities and compensated financially for their establishment. For example, the city council of Freiburg invited the Dominicans to establish a house in the mid-1230s.[55] In return for the material, financial, and social support that Freiburg offered, the Dominicans could offer spiritual guidance. While the laity most often welcomed the establishment of the Dominicans, the clergy, in contrast, sometimes resented them and viewed them as trespassing on their pastoral duties and related incomes.[56]

The Dominicans also built a strong following among female convents and beguines in many of these towns. The beguines – groups of semi-religious women who lived spiritual lives but took no formal vows – often looked to the Dominicans (and the Franciscans) for spiritual guidance and confession.[57] The Dominicans were often formally entrusted with their care. In Cologne, for example, sometime during 1238 and 1261, Archbishop Conrad assigned the Dominicans to care for the beguines in the city,

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[55] Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 34.

[56] Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 36-39.

[57] On beguines, see, for example, Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, with Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1954); Carol Neel, "The Origin of the Beguines," *Signs* 14 (1989): 321-341; Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies. Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries 1200-1564* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Elizabeth Makowski, *"A Pernicious Sort of Woman." Quasi-Religious Women and Canon Lawyers in the Later Middle Ages* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005); John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

whose numbers reached eleven houses sometime before 1273.[58] Similarly, in Strasbourg the Dominicans already had six Dominican nunneries by 1250.[59] In addition to formal supervision mandated by authorities in the Church, the proximity of many beguine houses to Dominican and Franciscan churches suggested a willing and close relationship between the friars and beguines. In general, however, female spirituality remained most closely tied to the Dominican order, especially in Germany.[60]

With an ever-growing presence in medieval society, Dominican beliefs and practices began to shape the devotional practices of their lay and spiritual followers in each city they frequented. In accordance with the mandates of Lateran IV, the Dominican order began to produce a body of literature – unprecedented in scale and influence – that sought to aid friars and priests in preaching and confession. This literature digested the canon law and high theology developed by ecclesiastics beginning in the late eleventh century and built on twelfth-century religious emphases and synthesized both for broader and more diverse lay and spiritual audiences. Leonard Boyle has aptly coined this body of literature *pastoralia*. For him, the genre

> embraces any and every manual, aid or technique, from an episcopal directive to a mnemonic of the seven deadly sins, that would allow a priest the better to understand his office, to instruct his people, and to administer the sacraments, or,

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[58] The number of beguine houses in Cologne skyrocketed to 169 by 1350. Freed, "Urban Development and the 'Cura Monialium,'" 314. Joan A. Holladay has discussed the relationship between the proliferation of beguines in Cologne and the popularity of female bust reliquaries. See Joan A. Holladay, "Relics, Reliquaries, and Religious Women: Visualizing the Holy Virgins of Cologne," *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): 67-118.

[59] Freed, *The Friars and Germany Society*, 36.

[60] By the fourteenth century, the seventy-four Dominican nunneries in Germany (provinces of Teutonia and Saxony) surpassed the entire number of Dominican nunneries in the remaining seventeen provinces outside of Germany. Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 49.

> indeed, would in turn enable his people the readier to respond to his efforts in their behalf and to deepen their faith and practice.[61]

While such texts and techniques were not entirely new, as we have seen from our discussion of twelfth-century religious emphases, the Dominicans' devotion to penning and preaching moral themes and lessons to audiences, lay and spiritual, in a legible and retainable manner was innovative; the order used persuasive material to communicate abstracted moral concepts in preaching and confession. Dominican texts of this nature were extremely popular and circulated widely across the order and beyond.

Although the following examples are not all culled from Dominicans active in the Upper Rhine, the structure and educational system of the Dominicans was such that *pastoralia* circulated widely across the order, not just regionally or provincially. With this in mind, the sheer number and size of Dominican houses in the Upper Rhine would suggest all the more manpower, presence, and influence to distribute these broader Dominican ideas.

Preaching was central to Dominican practices, and the order revolutionized the medium by recognizing its potential to reach broad and diverse audiences. Humbert de Romans criticized his contemporaries for their ornate language, verbose nature, and love of words in preaching and administration of penance. For him, "brevity fosters devotion."[62] Humbert de Romans fittingly compares preaching to the currency standards:

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[61] Leonard E. Boyle, "The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179-1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals," in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. F. Liotta (Siena: Accademia Senesi degli Intronati, 1986), 46. See also Joseph Goering, "Leonard E. Boyle and the Invention of Pastoralia," in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200-1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 7-20.

[62] Little, 187. See also Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans, His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984).

> In money, one takes into account the metal, the stamp, and the weight…The doctrine is the metal, the example of the Fathers that the preacher follows is the stamp, and the humility is the weight. Whoever turns aside from duty is no longer precious metal, but only a worthless piece of clay; where formerly he had the sound of pure metal, now he produces no sound at all.[63]

Early sermons, *modus antiquus*, were those of the Church Fathers and early ecclesiastics, and they often took the form of verse-by-verse commentaries on scripture. The homilies of Pope Gregory I held great weight through the Middle Ages and followed this exhaustive form. Pope Gregory I's *Moralia in Job*, for example, is a lengthy text divided into six parts, all dedicated to the historical, allegorical, and moral interpretations of the Book of Job.[64] This tradition of sermon-making continued until the late eleventh century, at which point the *sermo modernus*, or modern sermon, emerged.[65] According to M. Michèle Mulchahey, the modern sermon "was based on the careful elaboration of a single selected *thema*, an individual line from Scripture."[66] Just as with the early sermon types, modern sermons subjected scripture to various literal and allegorical interpretations, but beginning in the thirteenth century, and especially among the mendicants, tropological interpretation, in which the moral significance of scripture and the sermon would guide the theme, took on greater importance.[67]

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[63] Little, 200-201.
[64] Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, *Gregory the Great: Morals on the Book of Job*, 4 vols. (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1844-1850).
[65] See L.-J. Bataillon, "Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture," in Ad litteram*: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1992), 165-198.
[66] Mulchahey*,* 402.
[67] Bataillon, 176. For more on the structure and elements of the thirteenth-century sermon, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "The Evolution of Sermon-Form in the Thirteenth Century," in *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus florum *of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 65-90.

In the modern sermon, the preacher would first introduce his theme, often based on a passage from scripture, and then divide it into several parts, upon which he would then elaborate. This process of elaboration was called *dilatatio*. There were many techniques of *dilatatio*, such as anecdotes, analogies, and symbolism, but the most popular was that of the exempla, which usually took the form of a descriptive and exaggerated story to make a moral point.[68] While early theologians such as Pope Gregory I certainly employed exempla and praised their potential, it was not until the twelfth century that it became "a new literary genre, and one beautifully suited to any type of spiritual writing whose purpose was to [morally] instruct and edify." [69] The use of exempla reached its height in the thirteenth century. The Cistercians are typically credited with this development, and the mendicants, specifically the Dominicans, with its vast expansion.[70]

Humbert de Romans applauded the use of exempla in his *De dono timoris*, a popular tract among preachers:

> Since, according to Gregory [I], exempla move [listeners] more than mere words do and are more easily grasped by the understanding and more deeply fixed in the memory and, in fact, are more willingly listened to by many and attract many to sermons by a certain delight [taken] in them, it is profitable that men dedicated to the office of preaching have a rich store of exempla of this sort, which may be used now in public sermons, now in collations to God-fearing people, now in

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[68] For more on the forms of *dilatatio*, see Mulchahey, 408-414. On exempla and moral themes in sermons, see Jean Thiébaut Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen age* (Paris: Occitania, 1927).

[69] Mulchahey, 415.

[70] Despite the broad use of exempla, there were critics who believed that this technique eclipsed the moral message of a sermon. See Siegfried Wenzel, *The Art of Preaching. Five Medieval Texts and Translations* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 2013), 245.

> more casual conversations, namely, with all manner of men and for the edification and salvation of all.[71]

Humbert's view that exempla possessed the power for messages to be "more easily grasped" and "more deeply fixed in the memory" seems to have been shared broadly across the Dominican order, as illustrative stories became a staple of Dominican preaching. Humbert, however, urged preachers to curate their stories carefully to reflect the needs of listeners and to use only true, credible stories.[72]

One of the earliest and important exempla collections was the Dominican Étienne de Bourbon's *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus ordinatis et distinctis in septem partes seu septem dona Spiritus Sanctii* (ca. 1261), which contained nearly 3,000 exempla and similitudes. For example, in extolling the importance of confession, Étienne tells of a lady who initiated a dance in front of a church in Anjou.[73] Her dance distracted from a sermon taking place so much that she became possessed by demons and broke out in boils. Only after she apologized to the preacher she disturbed did the demons disappear, and only after she confessed did the boils go away. This story and many others like it illustrate clerical concerns for popular audiences and the consequences of certain behavior. The efficacy of such exempla contributed to the far-reaching influences of Étienne's work and its status as a source to be mined heavily by later preachers and authors across nearly all of Europe.

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[71] Mulchahey, 461. Original in Welter, 72.
[72] Mulchahey, 462. For more on Humbert's rules regarding exempla, see Welter, 72-73.
[73] Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, ed. Albert Lecoy de La Marche (Paris: Renouard, 1877), 161-162.

Along these same lines, Dominican friar Ulrich Boner (ca. 1290-1340) completed the first German edition and translation of Aesop's fables entitled *Edelstein*.[74] Active in Bern, Boner's compilation was a go-to source for moralizing inspiration and would have been found in any well-stocked Dominican library. Margaret Howie has argued that in his text "Boner suppresses details which would confuse lay audiences, while he emphasizes the didactic element."[75] For example, in a story about how "anything ceases to excite remark," Boner tells of a woman who wishes to marry her servant. The servant is anxious about what others will say, and so the woman sends him to the market thrice with a burnt ox to calm his misgivings about idle gossip.[76]

Similarly, when preaching against avarice, Dominican friar Jacobus de Fusignano's (d. 1330) cites a sponge so as to moralize abstract ideas and steer listeners from improper behavior:

> It soaks up water easily and as it were greedily but does not release it unless it is squeezed by someone; in the same way, a greedy person takes in riches but does not return them unless he is pressed by death.[77]

Sermon literature circulated widely and varied greatly, and it is likely that friars active along the Upper Rhine looked to such influential texts in their more local endeavors. There were collections of polished sermons, texts that merely outlined the structure of a sermon, collections of exempla for use in *dilatation,* manuals discussing the

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[74] Franz Pfeiffer, ed., *Der Edelstein von Ulrich Boner* (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1844).
[75] Margaret D. Howie, "Studies in the Use of Exempla with Special References to Middle High German Literature" (PhD diss., University of London, 1923), 51.
[76] Howie, 50 and Pfeiffer, 89-91.
[77] Wenzel, *The Art of Preaching*, 81.

theory of the sermon, and combinations of all of the above. Dominican priests consumed and contributed to all of these.

The confessor's manual was another genre of literature aimed at pastoral care that was developed and used by the Dominicans in their pastoral duties. Like sermon literature, confession literature has its roots in early Christianity, but it was revamped in the decades preceding and succeeding Lateran IV. As Lateran IV required annual confession of all Christians, an outpouring of confession literature to educate and instruct the confessors and laity resulted. Similar to the broad nature of sermon literature, confession manuals could vary greatly and could range from extremely complicated to brief, boilerplate-like manuals.

Early confessor literature from the sixth through twelfth centuries, often in the form of penitentials, focused more on the administration of private penance. This literature lacked a tangible discussion of sin and was essentially a list of recommended penance for a specific sin. Burchard von Worms' *Decretum* (ca. 1023) was the primary source for confessors until the thirteenth century and exemplifies the itemized nature of older, traditional penitentials:

> Hast thou washed thyself in the bath with thy wife and other women and seen them nude, and they thee? If thou hast, thou should fast for three days on bread and water…Have strangers come to thee in time of need, and hast thou not received them in thy house, and hast thou not had mercy on them as the Lord commanded? If so, thou shalt do penance for five days on bread and water.[78]

[78] John McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, trans., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 336.

The new confessional literature of the thirteenth century veered from the Burchardian tradition and adjusted to the new demands of the Church that culminated in the mandates of Lateran IV. Guillaume d'Auvergne, bishop of Paris from 1228 until his death in 1249, wrote two works on the topic of penance, *New Treatise on Penance* (1223) and *De Sacramentis* (1228). He compared confession to vomiting, a form of exemplum itself:

> It must indeed be declared that making confession is a necessity: I repeat, that this is a vomiting of necessary and healthy purgation, and spiritual emptying. If anyone asks why this vomiting should happen, I answer that is comes from the filth in which you wallow. For unless you are in fact a pig, to whom the foulest wallowing is like a chemist's shop or an aromatic room; for whom a great dung-heap becomes a cloud of cinnamon and a treasure-chest; then, by a miracle of devilish transformation, we can see such men have degenerated from the nobility of the human species…but rather they seem to be changed into pigs. Indeed, they will be counted pigs rather than men if they cannot throw out as a great a cloud of filthy life-giving spiritual vomit, as they wallow in abomination.[79]

This comparison vocalizes fittingly how confession was now to be viewed: as a spiritual cleansing of sorts. In order to achieve this purification the confessor needed to care for and guide the sinner.

The Dominicans began producing confessional manuals early on. Paul of Hungary wrote the first Dominican handbook on penitential practices, *Summa de penitentia*, around 1221, but it was Ramon de Penyafort's *Summa de casibus* that became a fundamental source for confession and education among the Dominicans beginning

[79] Lesley Smith, "William of Auvergne and Confession," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 96.

around 1225.[80] Ramon's work discussed specific sins, treatment of sins, and the relationship between moral theology and the law. In the prologue he writes:

> [I] have with diligent study compiled the present *summula* from various authorities and from the sayings of my betters, so that if the brothers of our order, or others, should perhaps have doubts concerning the judgment of souls in sacramental confession, through using it, as much in their counseling as in their judgments, they may be able to untangle many question and various cases, both difficult and perplexing.[81]

By the late thirteenth century, the works of many friars in the Upper Rhine became essential sources for pastoral care. Ramon's work was replaced by Johannes von Freiburg's *Summa Confessorum* (ca. 1290-1298) as the primary source for penitential theory and practice beginning in the late thirteenth century, and by the fourteenth century nearly all other confession manuals were obsolete. Johannes was a lector for nearly thirty years at the Dominican priory in Freiburg and had studied at the conventual school in Strasbourg under Ulrich von Strasbourg and had been a pupil of Albertus Magnus and possibly Thomas Aquinas. Highly influenced by his mentors' teachings and works, Johannes updated Ramon's text and "distilled the moral teaching of the greatest Dominican theologians, and had placed it at the disposal of a vast audience."[82] For example, on the subject of usury, Johannes offered guidelines for confessors when dealing with moneylending sinners, as well as details regarding restitution to remedy this

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[80] See Stephan Kuttner, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Summa de casibus* des hl. Raymund von Pennafort," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 85 (1953): 419-448.
[81] Mulchahey, 535.
[82] Leonard E. Boyle, "The *Summa Confessorum* of John of Freiburg and the Popularization of the Moral Teachings of St Thomas and of Some of His Contemporaries," in Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 268.

sin. In turn, the popularity and influence of this text indirectly guided both lay and religious sinners' understanding of proper and improper behavior and actions.

Similarly, Hugh Ripelin, prior at the Dominican convent in Strasbourg from 1260 until 1270, wrote a highly influential compendium entitled *Compendium theologicae veritatis* that sought to explain "moral theology in a persuasive manner."[83] Nearly 600 surviving manuscripts of Hugh's text demonstrate its great influence and wide circulation. The text covered a broad range of theological issues that span seven books. One of the books is dedicated to the subject of sin and would have served as a source of inspiration for confessors on administering confession and helping remedy the root of the cause, as well as for preachers. According to Marc B. Cels, Ripelin's discussion of specific sins offered a "concise yet comprehensive resource that balances technical information about moral questions with persuasive materials."[84] For example, in his discussion on anger, in addition to describing its symptoms and practical remedies, Ripelin asks and answers practical questions, such as this one: must someone forgive an enemy who has harmed them and eventually befriend them? He understands there to be different responses to different levels of anger and cites specific biblical examples.[85]

Not unrelated to the widespread interest in morality among the Dominican order, as visible in preaching and confessional literature, the order's spiritual milieu also placed a heavy emphasis upon the suffering of Christ and in turn on compassion and empathy.

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[83] Marc B. Cels, "Anger in Dominican and Franciscan Pastoral and Homiletic Literature before 1350" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2006), 186.
[84] Cels, 187.
[85] Cels, 187-188 and (Hugh Ripelin), "Compendium theologicae veritatis," 5.32 (8: 186-187); 5.70 (8: 200).

The primacy of Christ's suffering during the Passion and Crucifixion and its inability to be compared to any other type of suffering was developed at the university level, especially at Paris, but it was the Dominicans who helped promote the message. For many theologians and friars, by empathizing with the suffering and pain of Christ during his last hours before his death, one could deepen his or her faith in Christ as redeemer of humanity and be steered from wrongdoing. For instance, Hugh Ripelin advised that anger could be remedied by contemplation upon the Passion.

In her study of descriptions of suffering in Dominican legendaries, Donna Christine Treminski has noted that such legendaries omit or abbreviate the suffering or torture of saints or martyrs, as it could not compare in any way to the ultimate suffering that Christ had endured during the Passion and Crucifixion.[86] Christ's suffering was often described in great and lengthy detail. For instance, in Jacobus de Voragine's widely popular *Golden Legend*, a source of exempla and miraculous stories for many preachers, the Dominican friar describes in great detail the brutal pain and suffering of Christ:

> His head, trembling with angelic spirits, is pierced with a thickness of thorns,
> his face beautiful before the sons of men is blemished with the spits of the Jews.
> His eyes, brighter than the sun are blackened in death,
> His ears which hear angelic songs, hear the insults of sinners,
> His mouth, which teaches angels is given vinegar and bile to drink,
> His feet whose footrest is adored because it was holy were affixed to the cross with a nail
> His hands which formed the heavens are stretched on the cross and affixed with nails.
> His body is whipped, his side is pierced with a lance. And what more?

[86] Donna Christine Trembinski, "Narratives of (Non) Suffering in Dominican Legendaries: Explorations and Explanations" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2004).

> Nothing remained in him except his tongue so that he could pray for sinners and commend his mother to the care of a disciple.[87]

In his *Commentaries* on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, the great Dominican theologian Albertus Magnus voiced further this opinion: "Christ suffered more and, indeed, more bitterly than any other man has suffered or would ever be able to suffer."[88] He goes on to argue that the suffering and pain endured by saints does not compare to that undergone by Christ.

The new stress placed on the suffering of Christ also appeared in imagery. In contrast to the early depiction of a stoic Christ on the Cross, thirteenth-century images of the Crucifixion depict Christ suffering. The Passion and Crucifixion scenes in the tympana at Strasbourg and Freiburg illustrate this shift quite nicely and will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

The Dominican manuals for confessors and preachers, as well as other *pastoralia* such as legendaries, of the thirteenth century are important sources for insight into medieval faith and practices that tended toward themes of morality that were rooted in eleventh- and twelfth-century change. This literature illustrated how the mandates of the Church were translated, interpreted, and implemented in a legible manner by intermediary clerics, who had direct access to the laity and were responsible for their instruction. The previous discussion of select Dominican texts reveals the order's lucidity of delivery. The order sought to communicate religious ideals in an uncomplicated manner to its followers, which was often achieved through the use of

[87] Trembinski, 329.
[88] Trembinski, 307.

exempla, clear language, and the distillation of complicated concepts. And it is out of this rich Dominican environment, which advanced twelfth-century interests in morality, that the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures emerge as visual exempla.

COURTLY CULTURE

The religious concerns of twelfth and thirteenth-century centered on morality and pastoral care, while rooted directly and indirectly in ecclesiastical mandates, also stood in opposition to courtly culture that was becoming increasingly influential and popular. The allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt are, on the most basic visual level, critical statements about the secular, courtly lifestyle. Aside from their titles of "Lady" and "Prince," of which only "Lady" originated contemporaneously, the hairstyles, clothing, and accessories of these figures are all associated with contemporary courtly culture.[89] It will therefore be useful to shift our focus to consider the nature of courtly life and culture.

In his seminal study on courtly culture in the Middle Ages, Joachim Bumke argues that courtly life was "conceived as an opposite to real life."[90] In a world laced with war, poverty, and famine, the world constructed at court and idealized by courtly poets was "an image of society that lacked everything that made life difficult and oppressive, and from which all economic and social pressures and all political conflicts were excluded."[91] Reaching new heights in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, courtly culture and its intangible and fictionalized counterpart in Minnesongs (love lyrics), epics,

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[89] As discussed in Chapter One, the textual counterpart of the Frau Welt sculpture in courtly poems was contemporaneously called "Frau Welt."
[90] Bumke, 4.
[91] Bumke, 3-4

and poems, was a world with opulent displays of material wealth and splendor unlike anything before.

Several societal and economic changes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries allowed for this new noble society to flourish across Europe, especially in France and Germany, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Just as the Church's need for pastoral care and moral theology was rooted partially in the growth of European society economically, demographically, technologically, and agriculturally, so, too, was courtly culture. This societal growth, coupled with the formation of the knightly class and rulers' establishment of a permanent seat of power in a single city, allowed for the expansion and transformation of royal and princely courts into centers of learning, culture, and achievement.[92] Home to the ruler and his family, court clergy, minstrels, noble guests, servants, soldiers, petitioners, and entertainers, the court become a "magnet for social and cultural development."[93]

With the establishment of a permanent court, more money was invested in a single residence. Whereas previous rulers resided in familial estates and manors, rulers

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[92] Unlike France and England, Germany remained an itinerant monarchy until the rise of the Hohenstaufen dynasty in the late twelfth century. On the formation of permanent seats of residences, see Aloys Schulte, "Anläufe zu einer festen Residenz der deutschen Könige im Hochmittelalter," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 55 (1935): 131-142; Wilhelm Berges, "Das Reich ohne Hauptstadt," in *Das Hauptstadtproblem in der Geschichte: Festgabe zum 90. Geburtstag Friedrich Meineckes* (Tübigen: M. Niemeyer Verlag, 1952): 1-29; E. Ewig, "Résidence et capital pendant le haut moyen âge," *Revue historique* 130 (1963): 25-72; Heinrich Koller, "Die Residenz im Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der oberdeutschen Reichsstädte* 12-13 (1966-1967): 9-39. On for the formation and rise of the knightly class, see Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Karl Leyser, "Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood," in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für J. Fleckenstein*, ed. L. Fenske, W. Rösener and T. Zotz (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1984): 547-566; Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood, 1050-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, eds., *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986).

[93] Bumke, 55.

beginning with the Hohenstaufen dynasty in the twelfth century began to build new and dominating castles as residences. The Hohenstaufen dynasty developed a particularly rich habit of building castles and palaces along the Upper Rhine.[94] In fact, one description of the building practices of Duke Frederick II of Swabia (d. 1147) states that "continuously moving down the Rhine, he would now erect a castle at a suitable site and subject the surrounding land, and then leave this castle and build a new one."[95] The Hohenstaufen building practices along the Rhine and in southern Germany continued at such a rate that at the marriage of Beatrice, daughter of King Philip of Swabia, to Emperor Otto IV in 1212 she took with her nearly 350 familial castles.[96] Despite the rapid construction of palaces and castles by nobles and imperials along the Rhine, some regions remained relatively underdeveloped. For example, in a description of Alsace from the early thirteenth century in the *Annals of Colmar,* the author writes: "the nobility in the countryside had small towers it could barely defend against its peers. There were few castles and fortified places."[97] In general, however, the rapid proliferation of imperial and noble castles and palaces in the Upper Rhine and southern Germany, spearheaded by the Hohenstaufens, suggests that these structures were much more than residences; these structures became statements of power and wealth and epicenters of courtly culture and life.

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[94] The archbishops of Cologne and the Zähringer family of Swabia also developed a rich castle building tradition.

[95] Bumke, 105. Original in Otto von Freising, *Gesta Frederici*, ed. G. Waitz, B. Simpson, and F.-J. Schmale, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr von Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe* 17 (1965): 152.

[96] Bumke, 105.

[97] Bumke, 104. Original in *De rebus Alsaticis ineuntis saeculi* XIII, ed. J. Jaffé, MGH SS 17 (1861): 236.

In a description of the new castle of Count Arnald of Guines in the *History of the Counts of Guines* (ca. 1190-1206), Lambert d'Ardres recounts the layout of the residence: it was two-storied and boasted an ornate chapel and "there was also a connection between the balcony and the oratory or chapel, which resembled in its architectural decoration and paintings the Temple of Solomon."[98] Similarly, in a description of a palace in Kaiserslautern, about thirty-five miles southwest of Worms, excess and abundance is celebrated:

> In Kaiserslautern he [Frederick I] built a royal palace of red stone and adorned it quite lavishly. On one side he surrounded it with a very strong wall, the other side is enclosed by a lake-like fishpond, which contains for the delectation of the eyes and the palate all delicacies of fish and fowl…The royal splendor of all these things and their abundance, which is greater than one could describe, strikes all who see it with amazement.[99]

Such medieval residences were furnished with extravagant objects. For example, the King of Hungary gave Frederick I "a bed with a splendidly decorated pillow and a very precious blanket, and in addition an ivory stool with a cushion which was to be placed in front of the bed."[100]

The luxurious materiality that went hand-in-hand with courtly residences stood second only to the costume and accessories of the courtiers. Noble and courtly fashion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was unlike anything before. Lavish and bright fabrics were now tailored – something not previously done – to accentuate the human form. Whereas previously garments of men and women were hard to distinguish, starting in the

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[98] Bumke, 113. Original in Lamberti Ardensis, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium,* ed. J. Heller, MGH SS 24 (1897): 624.
[99] Bumke, 125. Original in Otto von Freising, *Gesta Frederici*, 712.
[100] Bumke, 119. Original in Arnold von Lübeck, *Chronica*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, MGH SS 21 (1869): 171.

twelfth century women's courtly fashion was tailored to fit tight around the bust and to cinch at the waist with a belt. These costumes also boasted excessive trains and sleeves.[101] Courtly women also wore their hair long and curled and topped by a floral headdress or circlet. The images of the average female courtier, therefore, would not seem dissimilar from the Frau Welt sculpture at Worms cathedral and many of the Foolish Virgin sculptures previously discussed.

Courtly poets were especially keen to describe this costume. In *Roman d'Enéas,* Heinrich von Veldeke (d. after 1184) dedicates several lines to the description of Queen Dido's attire.

> Her shirt was of exquisite cloth, white and artfully sewn. A lot of gold filament was on it. It was laced tightly to her body; she was a shapely woman as beautiful as could be. The fur trim on her shirt was of ermine, white and very costly. The neck-pieces were as red as blood. The sleeves were no wider than was proper. Over the shirt she wore a green silk dress that was perfectly fitted to her body. …The dress was nicely ornamented and very richly decorated with pearls and braids…To gird herself she used a precious belt fitted with silver and gold as she wanted. Her mantle was of silk, green as grass. The fur lining of white ermine could not have been more exquisite; the sable at the edge was brown and wide.[102]

Heinrich's work belongs to a body of writings – epics, courtly poems, and Minnesongs – that were composed at court for courtiers. For these poets or Minnesingers, "love was the highest social value in this idealized world, where materially and luxury was often

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[101] Since the Carolingian period, unfitted and untailored clothing had been the norm for both men and women. Bumke, 139. For more on fashion in the Middle Ages, see Mary G. Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France: The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1950); Olga Sronkova, *Gothic Woman's Fashion* (Prague: Atria, 1954); Erika Thiel, *Geschichte des Köstums: Die europäische Mode von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart,* 5th ed. (Amsterdam: Heinrichshofen, 1980).

[102] Bumke, 140. Original in Heinrich von Veldeke, *Eneit*, ed. L. Ettmüller (Leipzig, 1852), 59.28-60.15.

glorified."[103] The courtly knight and noble lady often served as protagonists in these narratives. The knight abided by a code of virtues, and the beauty of the women was celebrated.

A poem by Witslaw III, Prince of Rügen (d. 1325), conforms to this courtly love *topos* that positions the women as objects of desire for the male author. He writes:

> Roses she raises
> on her lovely cheeks and lips,
> and of them I sing.
> Though frost may shake me,
> from her body comes a scent,
> fragrance of blooms and summer breezes.
> If she will take me,
> I'll lack naught to be content,
> she is everything that pleases.[104]

In this lyric, Witslaw vies for the affection and attention of an unattainable lady. The female-centric and worldly desires of the courtly authors stood in stark contrast to the values of the Church.

The aforementioned poems and literature concerned with the glorification of women and the materialistic ways of courtly life and culture were, not surprisingly, often produced in and circulated around courts. There was a particularly rich tradition of Minnesingers and Minnesongs along the Rhine, southern Germany, and Austria that coincided with the rise of courts in these regions. And while the intended audiences were often courtiers, poems and stories circulated informally outside of courts.

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[103] Bumke, 275.

[104] Wesley Thomas and Barbara Garvey Seagrave, *The Songs of the Minnesinger, Prince Winzlaw of Rügen* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 146-147.

The culture at court in theory went against a core belief of the Church: the renunciation of *this* world and all of its materiality. The message of twelfth- and thirteenth-century spirituality, especially among the mendicants, forged an even greater wedge between the glamour of courtly culture and the Church with its advocacy of the abandonment of personal possessions, materiality, and the world. Between the circulation of courtly poems, activity of poets, and presences of imperial and noble palaces and castles, it would seem that courtly culture and life infiltrated and infused much of the Upper Rhine, and that the many clergy and friars sought to combat the growth of this culture in their back yard. On the most basic visual level, the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories speak to this critique of courtly culture, as their titles, but more importantly their appearances, embody all the materiality and wealth embraced at courts. And it is only when one observes the backs of these figures that their true nature, and that of courtly culture, is revealed.

CONTEMPTUS MUNDI

Contemptus mundi, or contempt for the world and material possessions, was the reverse of courtly culture and a theme that preoccupied many religious and secular authors. It is a tradition to which the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories certainly belong. *Contemptus mundi* was not exclusive to the Middle Ages, as it had been voiced by early patristic writers, but it reached new popularity and prominence with the economic growth of medieval society.[105]

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[105] For example, Jerome urged those to "beware of the wantonness of those girls who decorate their heads, let their hair fall into their foreheads, polish their skin, use cosmetics, and wear tight sleeves, dresses without folds, and shiny shoes." Bumke, 152. The Bible is rich with anti-world rhetoric. See, for

Following the Gregorian Reform, in the late eleventh century there was a press among monastics to distance themselves from the world and courtly culture. As a whole, these authors thought of the "worldliness of courtly life as a symptom of an ominous moral decay, and condemned it as a violation of the basic principles of Christian ethics."[106]

Referring to the new tailored fashions of the time, Thietmar von Merseburg (975-1018) wrote that contemporary women "gird themselves in an indecent fashion and show openly to all lovers what they have to offer up for sale."[107] Orderic Vitalis (1075-ca. 1142), a Norman monk, wrote "laypeople in their wantonness seize upon fashions that suit their perverse lifestyle."[108] Similarly, John of Salisbury (ca. 1120-1180) was an avid opponent of courtly culture. In his *Policraticus*, he connects the follies and temptations of court life to the undermining of moral integrity and virtue. He writes:

> feasting, drinking, banquets, song and dance, sport, over-refinements of luxury, debauchery, and varied types of defilement, weakens even robust souls and, by a sort of irony on nature's part, renders men softer and more corrupt than women.[109]

Another critic of the court was Peter of Blois (ca. 1135-ca. 1211), who wrote about the miseries of court and courtiers on several occasions:

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example, Hebrews 13:5; Luke 12:15; 1 John 2:16; Matthew 6:19-21; Isaiah 40: 6-8; Proverbs 21:17; Mark 8:36.

[106] Bumke, 415.

[107] Bumke, 152. Original in *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, ed. R. Holtzmann, MGH SS 9 (1935): 178.

[108] Bumke, 415. Original in *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969-1980), 4: 186.

[109] John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, trans. Joseph B. Pike (New York: Octagon Books, 1972), book 1, chapter 4. Also available online at http://www.constitution.org/salisbury/policrat123.htm.

> Life flees from us, while death is close behind, the enemy lies in wait to snatch us away, and no one is there to free us…for the court is filled with the snares of death.[110]

Contemptus mundi was perhaps most often voiced by friars of the thirteenth century, who renounced the world and all it offered and were active in cities where much of the wealth of materiality manifested itself. The Franciscan Berthold von Regensburg (1220-1272), who was active on the Upper Rhine in the mid-thirteenth century, was particularly appalled by the fashion esteemed by courtly society. He laments:

> You ladies, you carry on far too vainly with your robes, your dainty dresses: you sew them in so many styles and so foppishly that you ought to be ashamed in your hearts….When you wear it then with such excessive pride that you *brankieret* [flaunt] and *gampenieret* [parade] your body with it."[111]

In another sermon, Berthold mocks courtly courtesy and virtue:

> If someone can courteously pass on a message, or carry a key, or courteously offer a cup, and knows how to carry his hands politely or fold them in front of himself, some people will say: 'Ah, what a well-bred squire (or man or woman) that is! He is truly a virtuous person. Ah, how virtuously he behaves!' Behold, this virtue is a mockery before God and is nothing in the eyes of God.[112]

Likewise, a fourteenth-century preacher from Alsace warned against the falsehood of the world: "I will [now] tell you with a short story how unfaithful the world can be and how falsely it flatters [you]."[113]

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[110] C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 59.

[111] Bumke, 154. Original in Berthold von Regensburg, *Predigten*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1880): 1:118.

[112] Bumke, 419. Original in Berthold von Regensburg, *Predigten*, 1: 96.

[113] I thank Professor Marc Pierce of the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Texas at Austin for his help with this translation of the original Middle High German. "Wie ungetruwe die Welt si und wie falschlich siu losset, daz wil ich üch sage mit einem kurczen merlin." Anton Birlinger, "Elsaessiche Predigten," *Alemannia* 2 (1875): 198.

The condemnation of pomp and pride associated with courtly culture and materiality was used most often by religious authors, but there were also lay poets and Minnesingers who shared this viewpoint.[114] The *Spruchdichtung*, or didactic poem or lyric, was a specifically German tradition that often voiced *Contemptus mundi*. This genre emerged in the beginning of the thirteenth century and gained immense popularity by the second half of the century. This lyric touched on themes of prayer, confession, sin, marvels, and other Christian teachings, often in the vernacular. Walther von der Vogelweide, mentioned in Chapter One, was in fact a celebrated Minnesinger who wrote several *Spruchdichtung*, such as "Frô Welt," which, as we have already seen, voiced contempt for the world and all the luxury and materiality it offered. Konrad von Würzburg's "Der Werlte Lôn" also functioned as a *Spruchdichtung*, warning against the allure and deception of the Frau Welt and ultimately the world. Many of the poems and texts about Frau Welt that were discussed in Chapter One also functioned as *Spruchdichtung* and were localized to areas along the Rhine or southern Germany.

The lines from a *Spruchdichtung* from Reinmar von Zweter (d. after 1248), a poet active around the Rhine and in Austria, illustrate the highly moralizing nature of this poetry:

> Gilded, silvered tin, may well be companions of the same ink, together with that man who conceals great falsehood and baseness beneath a handsome exterior.[115]

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[114] Manfred Kern has recently discussed the growing interest in the renunciation of the world in lyric and epic poetry from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries. Manfred Kern, *Weltflucht: Poesie und Poetik der Vergänglichkeit in der weltlichen Dichtung des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).
[115] Olive Sayce, *The Medieval Germany Lyric 1150-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 436.

Similarly, Neidhart von Reuental (d. ca. 1237), who was active in Bavaria and at the Viennese court, warns of the delusions of the world in his poem "Sweetness of the World." He writes:

> When I praise worldly love it pains my soul. My soul says it is merely a lie and foolishness. Only true love, it says, possesses perfect constancy; only it is good and everlasting.[116]

While many epic romances seemingly glorified court life and culture, some offered sobering criticism. For example, Gottfried von Strassburg (d. ca. 1210), from or active in Strasbourg, begins his *Tristan* with a description of the lavishness and abundances of King Mark's feast:

> Mark entertained them so lavishly that they enjoyed themselves greatly and were happy…And if a man who loved a spectacle took a fancy to seeing anything, opportunity was there to indulge him. One saw what one wanted to see: some went to note the ladies, others to see dancing; some watched the bohort, others jousting.[117]

But by the end of the epic, Tristan realizes that the physical beauty of courts is filled with jealousy, deceit, and intrigue.

While the theme of *Contemptus mundi* was ubiquitous in the High Middle Ages, there were many theologians and especially secular authors and poets active along the Rhine and in southern Germany who penned and preached anti-world opinions, as the region developed into a locus of courtly activity and power and rapid urbanization in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories belong to

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[116] Bumke, 369. Original in Walther von der Vogelweide, *Gedichte*, ed. K. Lachmann, C. von Kraus, and H. Kuhn, 13th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965), 67.24-29.

[117] Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas*, trans. A. T. Hatto (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 49. As his name suggests, Gottfried was active in Strasbourg and was probably part of the urban patrician class there.

this anti-world tradition and provide an exceptional case, as they were not confined just to text but appeared in visual form as well. The theme of *Contemptus mundi* reached new heights in the mid-fourteenth century with the spread of the Black Death, when the transience of life became an everyday experience.

THE CASE AT STRASBOURG

Lack of all documentation concerning the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt makes it hard to draw definite conclusions about the circumstances surrounding their production. Strasbourg, however, proves an extraordinary example. Here I will examine briefly the societal and religious aspects of medieval Strasbourg to help contextualize the portal program of Strasbourg cathedral and inform our understanding of it.

By the end of the thirteenth century, Strasbourg was a religious epicenter, boasting houses (often many) of nearly every religious order, yet it was the mendicants, specifically the Dominicans, who had a stronghold on the spiritual guidance of the city's laity. The growing presence and importance of the Dominicans in Strasbourg in relation to the cathedral has been the subject of the work of Charlotte Stanford. She has argued that the rebuilding of the Dominican church in the early fourteenth century challenged "the cathedral's artistic, economic, and even spiritual preeminence."[118]

The Dominicans had arrived in Strasbourg in 1224 and settled outside the city walls. Despite their location outside the city proper, within two decades of their arrival

[118] Charlotte Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror: The Dominican Church and the Cathedral in Fourteenth-Century Strasbourg," *Society of Architectural Historians* 64 (2005), 186. See also Charlotte Stanford, *Commemorating the Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg: Cathedral Building and the Book of Donors* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2011), 264-268.

the Dominicans were charged with overseeing five additional convents in the city.[119] Shortly after, in 1255, the Dominicans moved inside the city walls to a church they built just north of the cathedral. In addition to their move into the city proper, the Dominicans' popularity is attested to by the increasing migration of the laity from regular parish churches to theirs. Naturally, financial success followed in the form of bequests, donations, and gifts.[120] In fact, the Dominicans received "more legacies than any other convent or parish church in the city."[121]

The rapid financial achievements of the Dominicans became a source of tension with the regular clergy and eventually with the city council, "who complained that too much property was passing into the hands of the Dominicans, often to the detriment of legitimate heirs."[122] This tension culminated in the exiling of the Dominicans from their convent and their eventual return to Strasbourg in 1290 with the intervention of Bishop Konrad von Strasbourg.[123] The tensions that arose among the Dominicans, the cathedral, and the city council regarding finances helps to illustrate the influence and presence that the Dominicans achieved in Strasbourg in a relatively short period. With their care of convent churches, pastoral duties of preaching and confession, and their reception of

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[119] Philippe Dollinger, "Origins et essor de la ville épiscopale," in *Histoire de Strasbourg,* ed. Georges Livet and Francis Rapp (Strasbourg: Éditions des Dernières nouvelles de Strasbourg, 1981) 2: 64, fig. 8.
[120] Charlotte Stanford has pointed out that a large portion of the donations to the Dominicans in Strasbourg came from laywomen and beguines. See Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror," 188 and her nn. 19 and 22.
[121] Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror," 188.
[122] Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror," 188.
[123] In 1286 the city council forbade the citizens to enter the Dominican church and to offer them alms. And by 1287 the Dominicans were exiled from their Strasbourg property. The Dominicans at Strasbourg were also forced from their church between 1331 and 1335 when they refused to adhere to a city council mandate. Stanford, "Architectural Rivalry as Civic Mirror," 199.

donations, gifts, and bequests, it would seem that much of the Strasbourg laity was subjected willingly to the influence of the Dominicans.

In addition to caring for the five nunneries, the Dominicans were responsible for ministering to many of the beguines of Strasbourg, thus making their influence over the religious women of Strasbourg even more extensive. The beguines of Strasbourg are worth noting since their numbers grew rapidly in the thirteenth century.

Beguines occupied a unique place in medieval spirituality, as they neither fit entirely with nuns nor with the laity; these were semi-religious women. The beguines lived a religious life without taking the strict vows associated with an official religious order; they performed charitable works and adhered to material simplicity, all the while having the flexibility of being part of the laity. Their communities were not official religious orders, and they were dependent on clerics and friars for spiritual guidance and for the administration of sacraments.

Strasbourg had a sizable beguine population with estimates, at its height, of nearly 85 houses (*Beguinenhöf*) occupied by both individuals and groups, and housing nearly 300 beguines.[124] Interestingly, most of these houses were located in the vicinity of the Dominican or Franciscan convent and fell under the supervision of one of the orders (Figures 126-128). Although the Franciscans supervised more beguine houses than the Dominicans in Strasbourg, it appears that the Dominicans had a very strong and unique relationship with these women. In fact, most of the beguine houses were located in the

[124] In comparison, a typical city had anywhere from one to twenty houses. Dayton Phillips, "Beguines in Medieval Strasburg. A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1941), 145.

vicinity of the Dominican convent in Strasbourg (21 individual houses and 11 *Beguinenhöf*).[125] Moreover, beguines and women in Strasbourg offered more donations, gifts, and bequests to the Dominicans than to any other religious order in the city.[126]

The rapid growth, popularity, influence, and above all, quasi-autonomy of the beguines were questioned by authorities from the start, but it was not until the Council of Vienne 1311-1312 (and the later 1317 bulls *Ad nostrum* and *Cum de Quibusdam*) that this concern was voiced officially.[127] These mandates and bulls understood the beguines (and their male counterparts, beghards) to be an "abominable sect."[128] The bull continues: "the status of these [women] must be perpetually forbidden…and completely abolished from God's church."[129] Despite these harsh words and seemingly sweeping statements, the bull concludes with a statement that would allow for proper and righteous beguines to continue about their business:

> However, if there might be some faithful women, promised to chastity or not, living honestly in their dwellings, who should wish to practice penitence and to be devoted to the virtue of the Lord in humility of spirit, by no means through the aforesaid do we intend to prohibit that this should be licit for them, for the Lord shall have inspired them.[130]

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[125] Phillips, 170. Nearly two-thirds of all beguines in Strasbourg lived within a third of a mile from either a Dominican or Franciscan convent. See Phillips, 217-218.
[126] Phillips, 37-38 and 219-220.
[127] Jacques de Vitry and Caesarius of Heisterbach recognized the growing influence and popularity of the beguines. Jacques de Vitry also observed the critics of the beguines who "maliciously slandered the ascetic life of these women and when there is nothing more they could do, they made up new names to use against them, just as the Jews called Christ a Samaritan (John 8:48) and called Christians Galileans (Acts 2:7)." Simons, 36. Original in Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Marie d'Oignies by Jacques de Vitry*, trans. Margot King, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Peregrina, 1993).
[128] Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 64.
[129] Bailey, 65.
[130] Bailey, 65.

The Strasbourg beguines were not immune to such skepticism. Helga Sciurie has discussed the beguine situation in medieval Strasbourg in relation to the portal program of the cathedral.[131] For her, the paradox of these women became a source of tensions: these women could occupy prominent positions in society much like nuns, caring for the sick, dying, and poor and educating women, yet they could also travel freely, visit family and friends, and engage in other non-religious activities, and even leave their vocation to marry if they wanted. This semi-religious lifestyle was a concern for the Church at times, as these women were neither strictly religious nor strictly secular. Ulrich von Lichtenstein complained in 1257 that these women were suddenly running around like wild nuns with veils and rosaries, night and day.[132]

Sciurie understands the west facade of the cathedral, particularly the Wise and Foolish Virgins portal, as representing the two paths that women disembarking from marriage and family could choose: prostitution or cloistered life as a nun.[133] There was no middle ground. The Foolish Virgin to the left of the Fürst der Welt could be seen as a prostitute preoccupied with carnal love and the lust of the world, while the other path, standing directly across from her, was chaste love of Christ, exemplified by the Wise Virgins.

The control of the cathedral *fabrica* did not pass fully into the hands of the citizens until the end of the thirteenth century, thus making the Wise and Foolish Virgins

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[131] Helga Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der deutschen Plastik zwischen 1270 und 1350," in *Stil und Gesellschaft: Ein Problemaufriß*, ed. Friedrich Möbius (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1984), 166-198; Helga Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage in Andachtsbild und Bauskulptur," in *Frauen, Kunst, Geschichte: Zur Korrektur des herrschenden Blicks*, ed. Cordula Bischoff, et al (Gießlen: Anabas, 1985), 53-62.
[132] Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der deutschen Plastik," 179.
[133] Sciurie, "Die Frauenfrage und der Stil der deutschen Plastik," 180.

on the portal started in Strasbourg a statement likely put forth by the bishop or *fabrica*, and one that was increasingly skeptical of the beguines' fluid place in society. Through the eyes of the Church, this portal would view a cloistered life as the only virtuous option for a woman leaving behind marriage and family.

Furthermore, Sciurie posits that the sculpted program of the Wise and Foolish Virgins reflects social issues of the times that were not localized exclusively in Strasbourg. For her, the rapid dissemination of the theme and arrangement speaks to the theme's broad appeal across southwest and central Germany. I find, however, that the program's depiction of two paths, a life of prostitution versus one as a nun, is visible or clear only at Strasbourg and Basel, since each program displays a boastful and prideful Foolish Virgin who does not exhibit through her gestures, postures, and expressions grief or self-doubt, but rather sin and sexuality. Elsewhere, the Foolish Virgins appear pensive and remorseful and not hyper-sexualized.

With this in mind, Strasbourg is an interesting case. Roughly contemporaneously with the construction of the west facade portal, there was a strong and influential mendicant, especially Dominican, presence in the city. This order, although not credited with the resurgence of morality in the Middle Ages, promoted this theme unlike any group before and it had a large, lay and spiritual following eager to listen. I would argue that while the Dominicans were not involved directly in the planning or construction of the west facade at Strasbourg, their ideas indirectly were, as visible through the highly moralized nature of the program and its unprecedented level of legibility; the sculptures read as visual exempla. With the founding stone of the west facade laid by the bishop in

1277, the sculptures dating to around 1280, and the citizens taking over control of the *fabrica* by the late thirteenth century, it is hard to be certain about the involvement of each party in the development of the iconography and execution. Despite these uncertainties, the legibility, iconography, and moralizing themes of the west facade speak to larger interests in the thirteenth century: lay morality in general and tensions specific to the Strasbourg beguines.

CONCLUSION

Although at first glance the allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt are certainly part of the *contemptus mundi* tradition and a statement about courtly life, this chapter has sought to contextualize them in a broader Christian interest in the standards of behavior and its promotion in the High Middle Ages. Emphases rooted in twelfth-century spirituality and subsequent moralizing teachings disseminated in a legible and memorable manner by the Dominicans began to take visual form in the thirteenth century. It is at this point that the portal programs of many churches began to place moralizing themes at center stage, and nowhere is this better executed than at Strasbourg cathedral. On the portals of this church, the distinctions between good and bad behavior were chiseled into stone and presented in a manner that audiences of all callings and levels of sophistications could read and grasp. The portal sculptures taught by example.

In a world of wealth, worldly desires, and secular seductions, the allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt projected visually what the theologians penned on parchment and what the friars preached on the streets. These sculptured figures were visual exempla; their iconography was exaggerated in such a way as to make them

morally captivating and memorable. And while the details surrounding the production of each portal program remain largely unknown, I would argue that the ubiquitous concern across medieval society with proper and improper behavior and its portrayal by means of exempla indirectly affected the subjects of the portals, whether they were commissioned or executed under the direction of ecclesiasts or burghers, or both. Themes of morality were omnipresent in medieval society in the decades following the Gregorian Reform, but especially beginning in the thirteenth century along the Upper Rhine, mainly because of the influence of the Dominicans in the region.

Understanding the sculpted allegories in this light roots them in a much larger European shift toward morality. While moral concerns affected nearly all of medieval Europe, it is only along the Upper Rhine that the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt allegories were created and employed monumentally, thus making them regional solutions to larger, pan-European issues and concerns.

In the following chapter, the uniqueness of the sculpted Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt allegories in visual form will become more apparent as I discuss other medieval moralizing themes in visual form both along the Rhine and elsewhere across medieval Germany and consider the changing nature of portal programs from statements of high theology to legible displays of sculpture. This discussion will situate the images of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt in a larger corpus of imagery used to illustrate moral values in both public and private settings and for both secular and religious audiences.

CHAPTER FOUR
A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD IMAGES: THE ARTISTIC CONTEXT OF THE UPPER RHINE

This final chapter will bring the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt full circle by considering the artistic impact of the theological shifts discussed in Chapter Three. In doing so, I seek to situate the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt in broader artistic trends along the Upper Rhine that were morally and compassionately centered, lucidly constructed, and often dichotomized. It was also in this region, and along other parts of the Rhine and in southern Germany as well, that the potential of images and art as a tool for education, instruction, and spiritual guidance was recognized for both lay and religious audiences.

Just as the Upper Rhine was a hotbed for religious activity in the thirteenth century, so too was it a center for artistic innovation. The uniqueness of Upper Rhenish art has been recognized for its emphasis on morality, humanity, compassion, and perhaps most importantly, for its relationship to the laity. In her study of medieval art along the Upper Rhine, Irmtraud Himmelheber wrote:

> The togetherness of Upper Rhenish art originates from the general Alemannic character of the populace, not from borders or land ownership of political history.[1]

Himmelheber recognized that political ties and geographic boundaries did not define Upper Rhine art; instead it was the people. While certainly laymen and laywomen did commission art and were involved (to an extent) in the building of the west portals at

[1] The English translation is my own. "Die Zusammengehörigkeit oberrheinischer Kunst entspringt dem gemeinsamen alemannischen Stammescharakter der Bevölkerung, nicht den Grenzen und Besitzverhältnissen der politischen Geschichte." Irmtraud Himmelheber, *Meisterwerke der oberrheinischen Kunst des Mittelalters* (Hanau: Hans Peters Verlag, 1959), 9.

Strasbourg and Freiburg (as well as other civic projects), what defined the art of the Upper Rhine in the thirteenth century was the recognition of the image as a vehicle for lay devotion. Here, images appealed broadly and had the ability to reach, educate, and instruct audiences of all kinds. Through strategic forms and legible iconographies, art along the Upper Rhine conveyed the spiritual ideals of the Church and became an effective tool in the instruction of morality that sought to distinguish good from bad behavior.

The relationship between the highly moralizing nature of art along the Upper Rhine and the new religious movements and trends in the region, specifically in relation to the rise of the mendicant orders and lay spirituality, has been addressed recently by Bruno Boerner.[2] In *Bildwirkungen,* Boerner discusses images north of the Alps in German-speaking lands from the mid-twelfth century through the mid-fourteenth century and seeks to understand the instructional effects of medieval sculpture on viewers. In the first part of his study, Boerner focuses on the *Traditio Legis* (Christ giving the Law to Peter and Paul) sculpted tympana in the twelfth and early thirteenth century in the Upper Rhine (such as the Galluspforte at Basel cathedral) and argues that this imagery would

[2] Bruno Boerner, "Réflexions sur les rapports entre la scolastique naissante et les programmes sculptés du XIIIe siècle," in *De l'art comme mystagogie: Iconographie du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*, ed. Yves Christe (Poitier: Université de Poitiers, 1996), 55-69; Bruno Boerner, "Le rôle de l'image sculptée dans les couvents féminins allemands à la fin du moyen âge," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 162 (2004): 119-131; Bruno Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2008); Bruno Boerner, "Mittelalterliche Skulptur am Oberrhein und die Diskussion um die Kunstlandschaft," in *Historische Landschaft-Kunstlandschaft: Der Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Thomas Zotz and Peter Kurmann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2008), 361-399; Bruno Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire: L'exemple des portails de la cathédrale de Strasbourg," *Bulletin de la cathédrale de Strasbourg* 28 (2008): 33-48.

remind viewers of Peter's and Paul's role as mediators between Christ and the faithful.[3] More important for this study is the second part of Boerner's analysis, which, among other things, discusses the function of the portal sculpture at Strasbourg and Freiburg.[4] He finds that many of the images on these facades would have stimulated responses and would have reminded viewers of doctrine, evoked compassion, or served didactic functions. For him, the emotionally compressed and potent sculptures at Strasbourg and Freiburg would have left lasting impressions on spiritual lay and clerical audiences.[5]

Using Boerner's framework that understands images as agents for communication, this chapter will examine three main artistic trends that help to distinguish the function and effect of Upper Rhenish art and its reaction to the evolving theological and spiritual climate: the changing nature of sculpted portal programs, the development of the devotional images known as *Andachtsbilder*, and the personification of inanimate objects and ideas in visual form. This discussion will position the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt in larger, but still regional, artistic trends that react to broader religious issues. In doing so, the geographic exclusivities that once defined and confined the sculpted allegories to select cities along the Upper Rhine break down and place the allegories in larger artistic shifts that preoccupied the whole of the Upper Rhine and beyond, but to which the Upper Rhine artists and patrons reacted differently and which they executed differently.

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[3] Boerner, *Bildwirkungen,* 77.
[4] In this section he also discusses sculpture that would have stood inside churches, such as the Holy Graves, crucifixes, and *Andachtsbilder*. Boerner, *Bildwirkungen,* 193-236.
[5] Boerner, *Bildwirkungen,* 237.

SCULPTED PORTAL PROGRAMS

In Chapters One and Two, in the context of my examination of the sculpted portals that include a sculpture of Frau Welt or the Fürst der Welt, I argued that sculpted portal programs were not static theological statements; instead, iconographies, elements, and styles changed and shifted as religious trends and emphases did. Here I would like to look beyond the immediate sculptural context of these sculptures and examine the changing nature of sculpted church portal programs more broadly as a starting point for a more detailed discussion of the peculiarities of Gothic sculpted portal programs along the Upper Rhine. As will be shown, Gothic portals along the Upper Rhine were vastly different from earlier Romanesque portals in this area, as well as from Gothic counterparts elsewhere in France and Germany.[6] Alongside the religious tendencies and emphases of the region, Gothic sculpted portal programs along the Upper Rhine showcased new religious beliefs and trends that centered on morality and lucidity, with lay audiences in mind, making the inclusion of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt quite fitting.

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[6] The terms "French Gothic" and "German Gothic," as I will use them in the following section, are terms of convenience that situate certain monuments and sculptures in a stylistic realm rather than a strictly geographic one. Whereas "French Gothic" style will refer to most monuments constructed in and around the Île-de-France and modern-day France, "German Gothic" will comprise loosely monuments east of and including the Upper Rhine, part of modern Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Furthermore, "German Gothic" is not a blanket term, as many regions had stylistic and thematic peculiarities. For more on the term "German Gothic" and its debts or lack thereof to "French Gothic," see, for example, Georg Dehio, "Über die Grenzen der Renaissance gegen die Gotik," *Kunstchronik* 2 (1900): 273-277, 305-311; Walter Paatz, *Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der deutschen spätgotischen Skulptur im 15. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1956), 15-16; Kurt Gerstenberg, *Deutsche Sondergotik: Eine Untersuchung über das Wesen der deutschen Baukunst im späten Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969); Willibald Sauerländer, *Cathedrals and Sculpture*, vol. 1 (London: Pindar Press, 1999), i-v; Assaf Pinkus, *Patrons and Narratives of the Parler School: The Marian Tympana 1350-1400* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 19-27. For more on the term "Gothic," see Marvin Trachtenberg, "Gothic/Italian 'Gothic': Toward a Redefinition" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (1991): 22-37.

Early Sculpted Portals

A portal, by its very nature, is functional, serving as a door from one space into another. And in the case of a church portal, it serves as a threshold separating sacred from secular space.[7] While portals could appear on any side of a church, it was often the west side that housed the main portal, and more often than not the portal opened into the town square making it an integral part of civic life and activity. With the potential to address a wide and diverse audience, the elaborately decorated sculpted portals of the Gothic era, like those at Strasbourg, Basel, and Freiburg, could remind, teach, or warn onlookers on a reoccurring basis.

The expansive sculptural decoration of the Gothic portal was not always commonplace, however. In fact, ornamented portals were nearly nonexistent in the early Middle Ages. For these early churches, the focus was not on what was found on the outside but rather what was on the inside. Thus, these buildings appeared fortress-like and were built with heavy, stone masonry with little or no decoration. For example, the austere exterior of St. Cyriakus (late tenth century) in Gernrode gave way to a highly ornamented interior (Figure 129).[8]

By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, portals began to take on a symbolic function and display visual moral lessons for the viewer to follow, as well as counterexamples for the viewer to avoid. Similarly, paralleling the rise of the twelfth-

[7] As mentioned in Chapter Two, the portal could also serve secondary functions. For example, processions and transactions under canon law could take place before a portal. Likewise, a portal could serve as the backdrop for preaching, sermons, and civic activity.

[8] Klaus Voigtländer, *Die Stiftskirche zu Gernrode und ihre Restaurierung 1858–1872* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980).

century discourse of opposites, twelfth-century portal sculpture increasingly illustrated this tension to make a theological point. For example, in many Last Judgment scenes, Heaven and the Saved appeared in visual juxtaposition to Hell and the Damned.[9]

Despite sculpture becoming a norm on Romanesque portals, there was no uniform architectural framework, and thus the layout and architectural components could vary greatly and the sculpture could appear scattered and the narrative disorganized. At Saint-Pierre at Moissac (ca. 1115-1130), for example, the portal decoration, centering on Christ in Majesty as described in the Revelation 4, appears in the tympanum and archivolts and then extends along the trumeau, jambs, and lateral porch walls (Figure 130).[10] In contrast, at Sainte-Foy at Conques (early to mid twelfth century) the sculpture, representing the Last Judgment, is confined solely to the tympanum (Figure 131).[11] On the late twelfth-century Schottenportal at St. Jakob in Regensburg, the program occupies the tympanum (where Christ sits enthroned between Saints John and James), the

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[9] See Constance Brittain Bouchard, *"Every Valley Shall Be Exalted": The Discourse of Opposites in Twelfth-Century Thought* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 50-54. For more on the Romanesque portal, see M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).

[10] The portal sculpture was completed in two phases, presumably by the same workshop; the tympanum and reliefs panels on the walls flanking the portal door were executed first, followed by the archivolts, jambs, and trumeau. See Susan Raglan Dixon, "The Power of the Gate: The Sculptured Portal of St. Pierre, Moissac (France)" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1987); Thorsten Droste, *Die Skulpturen von Moissac: Gestalt und Funktion romanischer Bauplastik* (Munich: Hirmer, 1996); Linda Seidel, "Scriptural Story in Romanesque Sculpture: Architectural Space and Narrative Time," in *Erzählte Zeit und Gedächtnis: Narrative Strukturen und das Problem der Sinnstiftung im Denkmal*, ed. Götz Pochat and Brigitte Wagner, (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2005), 21-28.

[11] The dating of the portal sculpture at Conques has been much disputed. See Jacques Bousquet, "La sculpture à Conques aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Essai de chronologie comparée" (PhD diss., Université de Toulouse, 1971); C. Voyer and C. Vincent, "Les images des saints dans l'art monumental à la période romane: Quatre exemples méridionaux," in *Hagiographie et culte des saints en France méridionale: XIIIe-XVe siècle (*Toulouse: Privat, 2002), 379-404.

archivolts, and the jambs and continues across the wall (Figure 132).[12] These few examples highlight the nature of Romanesque sculpted portals: relatively small and simple, and a rather unstandardized architectural framework.[13] Similarly, these examples reveal a thematic divide between examples in France and those in Germany; whereas in France scenes of the Last Judgment and the Apocalypse occupied Romanesque portals, in German-speaking lands Christ in Majesty with saints was preferred.

French Gothic Portals[14]

This all changed with the construction of the west facade portals of the abbey church of Saint-Denis (ca. 1140) and the advent of the Gothic style (Figure 38 and 133).[15]

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[12] Volkmar Greiselmayer has suggested that only the tympanum, archivolts, and jambs may have been part of the twelfth-century portal and that the other sculpture was added later as *spolia*, i.e., moved from another site. Volkmar Greiselmayer, "Anmerkungen zum Nordportal der Schottenkirche St. Jakob in Regensburg," *Das Münster* 48 (1995): 143-150. For more on the Schottenportal, see Elgin von Gaisberg, *Das Schottenportal in Regensburg: Bauforschung und Baugeschichte (*Morsbach: Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 2005).

[13] Romanesque portals also displayed a preference for biblical inscriptions, which were often woven into the sculpture. See Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

[14] Willibald Sauerländer's *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270* has been the foundational source for understanding monumental sculpture in France in the High Gothic period. Sauerländer's period of focus begins with the construction of Saint-Denis and continues through the death of Saint Louis in 1270, at which point he believes French Gothic sculpture passed its peak. As the title states, he limits his study geographically to France, though he recognizes that other parts of Europe began to embrace this style. In the following discussion of Gothic sculpted portals in France, I will use Sauerländer's dating. See *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270*, trans. Janet Sodenheimer (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972). For Gothic sculpture across Europe, see Willibald Sauerländer, "Sculpture on Early Gothic Churches: The State of Research and Open Questions," *Gesta* 9 (1970): 32-48; Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Stephan Gasser, Christian Freigang, and Bruno Boerner, ed., *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts: Produktion und Rezeption – Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006).

[15] One of the main motivations behind Abbot Suger's construction of his church was a new understanding of light. Inspired by the work of the fifth-century Pseudo-Dionysus, spiritual light was understood as physical light. At Saint-Denis, the synthesis of architectural features – flying buttresses, thin walls, tracery windows, and pinnacles – was used to invite light and create the effect of lightness and verticality, and in turn spiritual presence. Suger also increased the number and size of the windows and raised the height of the walls to emphasize light and lightness. See Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Otto Georg von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*, 3rd ed.

Unlike Romanesque portals, Abbot Suger's Gothic portal was regularized in terms of the architectural framework; that is, he took architectural elements that had previously existed independently (or in small combinations) and brought them together in a coherent fashion. From Saint-Denis onward, most portals became uniform in that they had a tympanum, lintel, archivolts, doorposts, jambs figures, and socles. The jamb figure, or column statue, carved in the round, was the single architectural element, however, that originated at Saint-Denis, although there were earlier low-relief precedents that existed in southern France (Figure 134). For example, sculpture in the spandrels on the Porte Miègeville at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse and reliefs on the porch walls at Saint-Pierre at Moissac appear as early models of jamb figures.[16]

Conrad Rudolph has noted that prior to Saint-Denis only a few architectural elements or sculpted images would have been employed on sculpted portals thus limiting "the potential for [the] development of a complex central theme."[17] Rudolph compares the multiplication and systemization of imagery at Saint-Denis to a cohesive argument in a structured essay:

> The multiplication provides more information and so a potentially more complex message, while the systematization allows for a more organized and so a potentially more articulate statement; together they offer the possibility of a dramatically more effective visual presentation.[18]

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 61-141. Peter Kidson has argued that Pseudo-Dionysus played less of a formative role in Suger's building plans than Panofsky and von Simson suggest. See Peter Kidson, "Panofsky, Suger and St Denis," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987): 1–17.

[16] Hearn, 139-142 and 169-180. See also Janet E. Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 105-136.

[17] Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Gothic Portal: Suger, Hugh of Saint Victor, and the Construction of a New Public Art at Saint Denis," *Art History* 33 (2010): 574-575.

[18] Rudolph, 592.

The bringing together of multiple architectural elements at Saint-Denis

> was seen to possess greater potential in allowing a new complexity of message in the use of large-scale public art, and in permitting a higher level of rhetorical address between those responsible for an art programme and those to whom it was directed.[19]

The Gothic portal format at Saint-Denis spread across Europe and became a form of public art and a primary means of visual communication.[20]

Abbot Suger's systemized and seamless integration of the sculpture into the architectural framework is what made his portal stand out as a model for future builders.[21] He recognized the potential of the portal to communicate visually and took full advantage of that by presenting a unified message. Although badly damaged during the French Revolution, the west portal of Saint-Denis reveals a coherent and thoughtful iconographic and thematic program. In the central portal of the tripartite west facade appears a Last Judgment scene that occupies the tympanum, archivolts, and doorposts (Figure 39). In the tympanum, Christ sits enthroned in a mandorla with his arms extended in the shape of a cross. Four angels above him bear the Instruments of the Passion, while below him appear the Virgin Mary and the twelve apostles. Under these

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[19] Rudolph, 576. Abbot Suger briefly mentions in his writings that the contruction was "the inspiration of the Divine Will and because of that inadequacy which we often saw and felt on feast days, namely the Feast of the blessed Denis, the Fair, and very many others…to enlarge and amplyify the noble church consecrated by the Hand Divine." Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, 43 and 45.

[20] Rudolph, 576.

[21] On the sculpted portal program at Saint-Denis and its influence on later portals, see, for example, Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France,* 379-383; Paula Lieber Gerson, *The West Facade of Saint-Denis: An Iconographic Study* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1970); Stephen Gardner, "Two Campaigns in Suger's Western Block at Saint-Denis," *Art Bulletin* 44 (1984): 574–87; Caroline Bruzelius, *The Thirteenth-Century Church at St-Denis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Paula Lieber Gerson, ed., *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986); Pamela Blum, *Early Gothic Saint-Denis: Restorations and Survivals* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1992).

figures, the dead rise from their tombs. The Last Judgment scene spills over into the innermost archivolt: in the center appears Christ judging the souls, while to his right stand Abraham and an angel with two souls and the Heavenly Jerusalem, and to his left, demons lead the Damned into Hell. The remaining three archivolts represent angels with censers, Elders from the Book of Revelations, God as Father, the Sacrificial Lamb, and the Holy Spirit. As discussed in Chapter Two, the doorposts depict the Wise and Foolish Virgins, who offer a parallel, allegorical reading of the Last Judgment. The central portal at Saint-Denis is the first to incorporate Gothic architectural elements and sculpture in a seamless manner to create a cohesive narrative that extends beyond the confines of a single space or architectural element, spreading fluidly across the tympanum, archivolts, and doorposts.[22] The result is a less cluttered, more tightly organized, and thus more readable portal than earlier Romanesque precedents.

On the right portal appear scenes from the Life of Saint Denis and the Labors of the Months, while the left portal illustrates the Martyrdom of Saint Denis and the Signs of the Zodiac (Figures 135-136).[23] Reading the portal as a whole, the side portals not only celebrate the patron saint of the church, but also present his life and martyrdom as a model or path for ultimate Salvation as illustrated in the central portal scene.

Abbot Suger's ideas – architecturally and thematically – suffused the Île-de-France and appeared a few years later on the west facade from around 1145-1150 at

[22] Romanesque Last Judgment and Second Coming scenes, at Moissac, Autun, Conques, or Beaulieu for example, were not as tightly organized as at Saint-Denis, thus making them harder to comprehend. On these Romanesque tympana, see Hearn, 169-191.

[23] The left tympanum dates from the nineteenth century. Abbot Suger's original tympanum was mosaic and may have presented the same subject matter as the current sculpted tympanum or a scene of the Triumph of the Virgin.

Chartres cathedral, where the basic doctrines of Christianity (Incarnation, Ascension, and the Second Coming) form the portal iconography harmoniously (Figure 137).[24] The early Gothic portals at Saint-Denis and Chartres were surpassed in innovation and scale by the great French cathedrals of the thirteenth century: the north and south transept portals at Chartres, Reims, and Amiens (Figures 138-141). At these sites the sculpture was expanded vertically and horizontally to cover the entire three-portal facade. The door itself also became increasingly recessed, which helped to envelop the viewer with sculpture.

At Chartres, for example, in the central portal (ca. 1205-1210) of the north transept the space is covered entirely by sculpture (Figure 138). The central portal depicts the Coronation of the Virgin in the tympanum and the Death and Assumption of the Virgin in the lintels. Ten carved archivolts depicting angels, prophets, and the Tree of Jesse frame the space, while Old Testament figures line the jambs. Continuing the theme of the Virgin, the left portal (ca. 1220) illustrates the Adoration and Dream of the Magi in the tympanum, Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds in the lintel, and prophets, the Annunciation, and Visitation in the jambs. The Wise and Foolish Virgins, angels, virtues and vices, and the Fruits of the Holy Spirit (Galatians 5:22-23) appear in the archivolts. The right portal (ca. 1220) depicts Job afflicted by leprosy in the tympanum, the

[24] On Chartres cathedral see, for example, Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968); Robert Branner, *Chartres Cathedral* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1969); Whitney S. Stoddard, *Sculptors of the West Portals of Chartres Cathedral* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1987); Margot Fassler, "Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 499-520; Brigette Kurmann-Schwarz and Peter Kurmann, *Chartres: Die Kathedrale* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2001).

Judgment of Solomon on the lintel, Old Testament figures in the jambs, and biblical stories and angels in the archivolts.

In this short period since the construction of Saint-Denis, not only have the quantity of sculpture and the scale of the portal changed, so too has the subject matter. While the Last Judgment was undoubtedly a common subject on sculpted portal programs, after about 1200 the apostles, Virgin Mary, Saint Anne, Old Testament typology, and other saints increasingly became the main focus of portals.[25] The subject of the north transept portal at Chartres showcases this thematic shift.

The west facade (ca. 1225-1235) of Amiens cathedral illustrates further the architectural and thematic shifts of the Gothic style in the thirteenth century and the harmony achieved between the architectural elements and sculpted decoration (Figure 141).[26] The tripartite portal of the west facade is covered entirely with sculpture. In a traditional manner, the central portal depicts a scene of the Last Judgment in the tympanum, which extends across the bottom registers of the archivolts (Figure 142).

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[25] Marian themes began to appear on French Gothic portals as the subjects of tympana as early as Chartres (west portal, ca. 1145-1155). The theme continued in the twelfth century and beyond at Bourges (ca. 1160), Notre-Dame at Paris (after 1160), Senlis cathedral (ca. 1170), Reims (north transept ca. 1180), and Laon (ca. 1195-1205). For Marian themes on Gothic portals, see Sauerländer, 32-36; Bruno Boerner, "Überlegungen zur Ikonographie des Marienportals," in *Die Kathedrale von Lausanne und ihr Marienportal im Kontext der europäischen Gotik*, ed. Peter Kurmann and Martin Rohde (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 179-202. For more on Marian devotion in the Middle Ages, see Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Knopf, 1983); Rachel Fulton, *From Passion to Judgment: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[26] On Amiens cathedral, see Marcia R. Rickard, "The Iconography of the Virgin Portal at Amiens," *Gesta* 22 (1983): 147-157; Stephen Murray, "Looking for Robert de Luzarches: The Early Work at Amiens Cathedral," *Gesta* 29 (1990): 111-131; Stephen Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Figures of apostles and prophets line the jambs and act as witnesses for the judgment scene above.

The right and left portals of the west facade of Amiens cathedral follow new trends, much like the north transept portal at Chartres, that look to the Virgin Mary and saints as intercessors and as guides for Salvation (Figures 143-144). The right portal lintel and tympanum illustrate the Dormition, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin Mary. Interestingly, in the jambs appear Marian scenes that were represented traditionally in small scale in tympanums, lintels, and elsewhere: Annunciation, Visitation, and Presentation.[27] Old Testament figures and the Three Magi also appear in the jambs. Appearing in large scale and close to the viewer and thus easily legible, these figures appear as tangible intercessors and guides for a path to Salvation. The left portal of the west facade continues this interest in intercession by offering the theme of Saint Firmin (the first bishop of Amiens) in the tympanum and angels and other local saints in the jambs.

German Gothic Portals

Although the French Gothic style and portal first exhibited by Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis radiated outward from the Île-de-France starting as early as the mid-twelfth century, these new styles and architectural elements did not penetrate fully the boundaries of German-speaking lands until over a century later. And even then, the Gothic style,

[27] These scenes also appear in the jambs on the north transept portal at Chartres and on the west facade at Reims.

architectural elements, and themes were not exact copies of their French predecessors; several adaptations were made.

The Romanesque style was deeply rooted in German-speaking lands, especially along the Upper Rhine, so much so that it continued well into the early thirteenth century. Whereas Romanesque portals in France favored themes of the Last Judgment and the Apocalypse, Romanesque portals along the Upper Rhine had a preference for Christ enthroned flanked by Saints Peter and Paul or the *Traditio legis*.[28] This grouping appears repeatedly on the tympana of Alsatian and Upper Rhenish churches of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Sigolsheim, Saint-Richardis in Marlenheim, Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Eguisheim, Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Andlau, the minster in Schwarzach, the Galluspforte at Basel cathedral, Saint-Ursanne in St.-Ursanne (in the Jura region of Switzerland), Gebweiler, and Malsch (Figures 43-44 and 145-147).[29]

Beyond sculpted tympana, carved capitals, and occasional figural sculpture, Romanesque portals of the Upper Rhine remained small in scale and minimally decorated with sculpture. The exception to this, as discussed in Chapter Two, is the Galluspforte (ca. 1180) at Basel cathedral (Figure 42).[30] While the traditional theme on Romanesque portals along the Upper Rhine – Christ in Majesty flanked by apostles – remains the

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[28] Bruno Boerner posits that the repeated representation of Saints Peter and Paul with an enthroned Christ on tympana in the Upper Rhine corresponds to the number of churches dedicated to these saints. He also argues that the choice of Peter and Paul helps to strengthen the connection between Rome and Germany and bolster the legitimacy of the Holy Roman Emperor during the height of the Investiture Controversy. See Boerner, "Mittelalterliche Skulptur am Oberrhein und die Diskussion um die Kunstlandschaft," 370-377; Boerner, *Bildwirkungen*, 15-86. See also Gillian Born Elliott, "*Regnum et sacerdotium* in Alsatian Romanesque Sculpture: Hohenstaufen Politics in the Aftermath of the Investiture Controversy (1130-1235)" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2005), 77-201.

[29] Boerner, "Mittelalterliche Skulptur am Oberrhein," 370-371.

[30] See Chapter Two, 61-63.

central theme in the tympanum, the architectural framework has spread across the portal to accommodate complementary themes. The Galluspforte loosely extended the theme of the Last Judgment/End of Time across the portal by depicting the Wise and Foolish Virgins in the lintel and relief sculptures of Heaven and Hell along the upper registers of the portal. Similarly, sculptures of the Evangelists line the jambs, sculpted niches of the six Acts of Charity flank the door, and sculptures of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (?) occupy the spandrels. Although on a much smaller scale than their French counterparts, the sculptors of this portal began to adopt the architectural framework of the Gothic portal and adapt it to traditional and preferred themes along the Upper Rhine. For the first time on the Upper Rhine, the theme of a portal was not isolated or confined to a single architectural element, such as the tympanum; the sculptured portal was now expansive and imposing.

By the turn of the century, themes began to change along the Upper Rhine. Whereas the foremost theme on portals had been *Traditio legis*, subject matter shifted toward the Virgin Mary in the early thirteenth century, a theme that had already appeared on French cathedrals as early as about 1145-1155 on the west facade at Chartres, and one that paralleled the rise of Marian devotion. On the south transept portal of Strasbourg cathedral about 1230, for example, the Virgin Mary is the central theme (Figures 148-149).[31] On the tympana of the double doorway appear scenes of the Death of the Virgin

[31] Contemporaneous with the south portal at Strasbourg, the tympanum at Saint-Croix at Kaysersberg illustrates the Coronation of the Virgin. But unlike Strasbourg, this portal remains true in style to the Romanesque precedent, despite a new, Gothic theme. On the south portal at Strasbourg cathedral, see Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: Arthaud, 1972), 101-115; Bernd Nicolai, Orders in Stone: Social Reality and Artistic Approach; The Case of the Strasbourg South Portal," *Gesta* 41 (2002): 111-128;

and the Coronation of the Virgin. The lintels, which were destroyed in the French Revolution but replaced in the nineteenth century, continued the theme and illustrate the procession of the Virgin's body to the tomb and the Assumption of the Virgin. Statues of King Solomon on the trumeau and Ecclesia and Synagogue on flanking piers, as well as of the apostles in the jambs, would have complemented the central Marian theme.[32]

The south transept portal of Strasbourg cathedral showcased an extensive sculptural cycle that embraced many architectural elements of the Gothic portal begun in France and a cohesive theme – a Gothic one at that – that extended across the entire portal. In addition to the architectural layout and the themes that are hallmarks of the Gothic, so too is the actual style of the sculpture, which presents attention to human form underneath heavy drapery, emotional facial expressions, and bodily movement. Sauerländer credits this Gothic stylistic infusion to a workshop that arrived in Strasbourg presumably from Chartres.[33]

Bamberg cathedral is another early German Gothic example where builders referenced the French Gothic architectural framework, but executed it on a smaller scale.[34] The Adamspforte and Gnadenpforte (ca. 1220) are both slimmed down versions

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Nina Rowe, "Idealization and Subjection at the South Portal of Strasbourg Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 179-202.

[32] Much of the south portal was destroyed during the French Revolution, but an engraving by Isaac Bruun preserves the original configuration. The engraving is reproduced in Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, fig. 88.

[33] The south transept portal at Strasbourg was completed under two workshops: the older workshop responsible for the architectural framework of the portal and the younger workshop that executed the sculpture. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France,* 443. See also Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 101-115.

[34] On Bamberg cathedral, see, for example, Robert Suckale, "Die Bamberger Domskulpturen: Technik, Blockbehandlung, Ansichtigkeit und die Einbeziehung des Betrachters," *Münchner Jahrbuch der*

of French Gothic portals (Figures 150-151). The Fürstenportal (ca. 1230) is the most elaborate portal at Bamberg and shows a sculpted tympanum with a Last Judgment scene and figures of the apostles and Old Testament prophets standing in the jambs (Figure 152).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the north transept portal at Magdeburg cathedral represents a pivotal departure from German Gothic sculpted portals and French ones as well up to that point (Figures 48-53).[35] At Magdeburg the Wise and Foolish Virgins appear for the first time in large scale and in a noticeable position in the jambs, a momentous move away from traditional French subjects for jamb figures. Furthermore, the north transept portal is devoted entirely to women: the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the Virgin Mary.

The west portals of Strasbourg, Freiburg and the original Gothic doorway at Basel represent a turning point in the history of sculpted portals in Germany, as they compare to the size and scale of portals in and around the Île-de-France. Much like the French examples, the Upper Rhine portals present a seamless unification and a coherent message that spreads across the portal, and at Strasbourg across three portals. But French portal programs beginning with Saint-Denis often depicted an eschatological theme in the tympanum, such as the Last Judgment or Christ in Majesty, as the central focal point of

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Bildenden Kunst 38 (1987): 27-82; Willibald Sauerländer, "Reims und Bamberg: Zu Art und Umfang der Übernahmen," in *Cathedrals and Sculpture,* vol. 2 (London: The Pindar Press, 2000), 557-592; Achim Hubel, "Die ältere Bildhauerwerkstatt des Bamberger Doms," *Das Münster Sonderheft – Bamberger Dom* 56 (2003): 326-346; Achim Hubel, "Die jüngere Bildhauerwerkstatt des Bamberger Doms: Überlegungen zur Erzählform und zur Deutung der Skulpturen," in *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts*, 475-528.

[35] See Chapter Two, 64-69.

the portals accompanied by traditional ecclesiasts, saints, and prophets in the jambs; the Gothic examples along the Upper Rhine, in contrast, center around the Life, Suffering, and Passion of Christ, and present key moralizing themes such as the virtues and vices and Wise and Foolish Virgins in the jambs, all themes central to the teachings of the Dominicans, who remained very present and active in the region.

Gothic Portals along the Upper Rhine

With this brief history of sculpted portal programs in mind, we now revisit the iconography of the portals central to this study to help understand their placement in the history of Gothic sculpted portal programs and ground artistically the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures. The iconography of the west facade of Strasbourg cathedral displays thematic preferences characteristic of Gothic portals specific to the Upper Rhine: moralizing, allegorical, and compassionate, especially as it relates to the suffering of Christ (Figures 58-73).[36] The left portal tympanum depicts scenes from the Infancy of Christ, but interestingly three of the most important scenes – the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity – have been omitted (Figure 62).[37] In lieu of these scenes, the Strasbourg sculptors chose to represent other passages in cycles of the Infancy of Christ, such as the Presentation, Massacre of the Innocents, Flight into Egypt, Magi before Herod, and the Adoration of the Magi. Bruno Boerner understands these choices as reflections of contemporary religious beliefs that understood the children in the Massacre

[36] For the iconography of the west portal at Strasbourg, see Chapter Two, 80-94.

[37] These scenes appeared frequently on French Gothic portals and sometimes prominently in the jambs. At Reims cathedral, for example, scenes of the Annunciation and Visitation occupy the jambs of the central portal of the west facade. Similarly, the Annunciation and Visitation appear in the jambs of the right portal of the west facade at Amiens cathedral.

of the Innocents as the first Christian martyrs and Herod as the figure responsible for this.[38] I find that these scenes, especially the Massacre of the Innocents, evoke empathy and compassion and invite viewers to contemplate suffering as a vehicle for their own spiritual experience. Many of these scenes might also be thought of as morally dichotomized, though not in the traditional sense, which places opposites against each other; here protagonists (the Innocents, Magi, etc.) oppose the antagonists (murderers, Herod, etc.).

Further departing from French Gothic sculpted portal iconographies, which placed Old and New Testament figures, saints, martyrs, and sometimes narratives in the jambs, the left portal at Strasbourg displays the virtues and vices in the most imposing and accessible space for the viewer (Figures 65-66). While the theme of the virtues and vices did appear on sculpted portal programs prior to Strasbourg, it appeared only in small scale, usually in archivolts, doorposts, or socle reliefs, much like the theme of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.[39]

Strasbourg has taken this small detail from the traditional French Gothic portal and positioned it in a place of prominence, making the virtues and vices the main, eye-catching feature of the left portal, rather than a minor, subsidiary theme. Here virtues appear as female personifications in large scale in the jambs standing atop the vices whom they pierce with a lance. The toppled vices receive the audience at near eye-level,

[38] Bruno Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire," 34.

[39] For example, at Saint-Pierre at Aulnay, Laon, and Chartres (north transept portal), the virtues and vices appear in the archivolts. Similarly, on the south transept portal of Chartres the theme is carved into the front and back of piers, and at Notre-Dame at Paris and Amiens the theme appears on socle reliefs. The theme of the virtues and vices will be discussed further later in this chapter.

and offer a warning against a vicious way of life. This arrangement recalls that of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in the right portal, where the physical placement suggests the figures' moral nature: good appear opposite bad in the right portal, and good stand atop bad in the left portal. Facial features, gestures, and clothing also allude to the negative or positive nature of the figures in the jambs. For example, the virtues appear composed and wear modest dresses with classicizing folds, and many wear proper veils and circlets or coronets over their hair. In contrast, the vices appear disheveled and wear contemporary headdresses such as barbettes, wimples, and fillets.

According to Bruno Boerner, the communicative function of the left portal at Strasbourg corresponds directly with the subject matter on the right portal tympanum: living virtuously by following the virtues will be rewarded at the Last Judgment, just as the Wise Virgins were rewarded for their good acts.[40] In this sense, the moral qualities of the jamb figures of both the virtues and vices and the Wise and Foolish Virgins offer a prescription for proper conduct and living a good Christian life as a pathway to Salvation. In comparison to this moralizing model, on French portals saintly intercession and imitation appeared as the sole path to Salvation. For example, on the south transept portal (ca. 1210-1215) at Chartres the jambs are lined with traditional models for Christian Salvation: Old and New Testament figures, saints, martyrs, and confessors (Figure 139). Similarly, in the tympana and lintels of the left and right portals of the south transept at Chartres, appear scenes from the lives and martyrdoms of Saints Stephen, Martin, and Nicholas. The lives of these saints would serve as models for how

[40] Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire," 36.

to live and conduct oneself in preparation for the Last Judgment, which appeared in the central portal tympanum and lintel. At Strasbourg, interceding saints have been removed from the immediacy of the jambs and replaced by personified qualities and codes of conduct that crystalize in a legible manner good and bad behavior and conduct. These qualities, not actual, historical figures, now served as guidelines or prescriptions for a path to Salvation.

The central portal at Strasbourg also fits into this reading that the jambs serve as direct models for viewers, though perhaps on a more traditional level (Figure 59). Twelve Old Testament prophets line the jambs and four more stand on piers to either side of the central portal (Figures 67-68). Statues of prophets were a common occurrence in early Gothic portal programs, but by the thirteenth century with the rise of the *vita apostolica* and search for evangelical perfection cycles of apostles began to replace those of Old Testament figures, thus making their inclusion at Strasbourg unusual. The choice to illustrate a cycle of prophets in the central portal jambs, however, was probably rationalized by the existence of an apostle cycle on the south portal from around 1220. And just like these earlier apostles, the prophets in the central portal were living embodiments of the virtuous acts and qualities personified on the right and left portals of the west facade.

Perhaps the most telling feature of the uniqueness of Strasbourg's central portal is the subject of the tympanum, which illustrates scenes from the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ (Figure 63). The central focus of the entire west facade of Strasbourg is the Passion of Christ, in particular the Crucifixion, rather than the Last

Judgment, which was the preference on French Gothic portals or the *Traditio legis*, to which Upper Rhine portals were partial hitherto.

Overall, the central tympanum places an emphasis on the suffering of Christ, and on closer inspection, certain scenes – the Flagellation, Crown of the Thorns, Crucifixion, and Christ Carrying the Cross – seem to attract the viewer and elicit compassion. Bruno Boerner has considered this and argued that "it seems that Christ seeks direct contact with the public in order to draw attention to the suffering he is undergoing."[41] For Boerner, Christ's gaze is the force that engages the viewer. Looking upward at the tympanum, the viewers' eyes would catch those of Christ that were chiseled into stone. Boerner notes that the image of Christ in the Flagellation scene, in particular, seems to look down directly toward the viewer (Figure 153).[42]

The importance of the gaze, as a means to communicate with the viewer and incite compassion and empathy, was a focal point for many mendicant orders. So important in fact, that in the General Order Chapter of 1260, the Dominicans wrote: "[The brothers] have the image [of the Virgin] and that of her son in their cells, so that reading, praying, or sleeping, they can at the same time both contemplate them and be watched by them with a look of piety."[43] The importance of the gaze was also emphasized in contemporary art. Boerner recalls a Man of Sorrows sculpture from the

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[41] The English translation is my own. "On a l'impression que le Christ cherche le contact direct avec le public afin d'attirer son attention sur les souffrances qu'il est en train de subir." Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire," 38.

[42] Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire," 38.

[43] The English translation is my own. "[Les frères] possèdent l'image [de la Vierge] et celle de son Fils dans leur cellule, de sorte que, lisant ou priant ou dormant, ils puissent à la fois les contempler et être regardés par elles avec un regard de piété." Roland Recht, *Le Croire et le voir: L'art des cathédrales (XIIe – XVe siècle)* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), 38.

fourteenth century from Alsace (Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar) from which, when considering the sculpture's original placement well above eye level, Christ's gaze would look directly downward toward the viewer who was looking up (Figure 154).[44]

With this in mind, it would appear that many of the images tucked into the large central tympanum prefigure *Andachtsbilder*, a type of image used for devotion and a topic that will be addressed more thoroughly later in this chapter. Certainly they do not adhere to the traditional form of the *Andachtsbild*, in that these were isolated images used by individuals for private devotion, yet these tympanum scenes function on a similar level despite being part of a larger narrative and in a public space. The Flagellation scene in the tympanum, for example, appears quite similar to a sculpture of the same subject now in the Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart (inv. E 508) that was likely used in a private setting to meditate upon or to inspire internal and spiritual introspection (Figure 155). The importance of the gaze and the torment of the body are employed in both instances to incite devotion. As Boerner rightly notes, the individual scenes in the central tympanum, while part of a larger narrative, also possessed the emotional power to guide the viewer into introspection and devotion.[45] And while the jambs figures of all the west facade portals had the potential to serve as physical models of good and bad behavior and conduct, so too did certain images that were part of the tympana. For example, Mary's

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[44] Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire," 39-40. For more on the importance of the gaze in medieval thought and art, see Thomas Lentes, "Inneres Auge äußerer Blick und heilige Schau," in *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Marc Müntz (Munich: Fink, 2002), 179-220; Thomas Lentes, "'As far as the eye can see…': Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Mind's Eye. Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 360-373.

[45] Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire," 41.

emotion in the Descent from the Cross scene illustrates ideal compassion in visual form (Figure 156).[46]

The subject of the tympanum, the Last Judgment, on the right portal at Strasbourg is the only sculpted program on the west facade that derives from the great French Gothic cathedrals (Figure 64). The Wise and Foolish Virgins cycle, however, is completely original (Figures 61 and 69-72). As we have already seen, the size, placement, and iconography of the jamb figures invite the viewer to contemplate the consequences of good and bad personal conduct, for it is at the Last Judgment when human actions are judged.

As a whole, the sculpted portals of the west facade of Strasbourg are unique on multiple levels. Most importantly, Strasbourg has inverted the French Gothic portal by placing the traditionally secondary moralizing subjects of the virtues and vices and the Wise and Foolish Virgins on center stage and relegating saints and angels to archivolts. In addition, the central focus of the portal has shifted from the Last Judgment to the Passion and Crucifixion, thus emphasizing the suffering and death, not triumph, of Christ. I see this shift as reflective of new pastoral strategies centered on compassion and morality promoted especially by the Dominicans and increasingly consumed by ever-growing spiritual laity in the Upper Rhine.

The inversion and restructuring of the themes on the sculpted portal programs at Strasbourg cathedral created a morally-infused viewing experience for the audience. The jamb figures and select tympana scenes instruct, educate, and warn the viewer by

[46] Boerner, "Programmes sculptés et catéchèse populaire," 43.

presenting models and counter models for living a moral life that strove for evangelical perfection. And while the circumstances surrounding the conception and production of the Strasbourg portal program remain uncertain, it would seem that the design and subject matter of the portal were influenced by the new pastoral strategies embraced by the Dominicans in the Upper Rhine, who preached compassion and morality. The result was an expansive sculpted program that centered around the Life, Death, and Resurrection of Christ in the tympana, but whose underlying message was conveyed more tangibly – literally and figuratively – by the jamb figures that offered palpable models for mirroring the Life of Christ in the tympana through good conduct and virtue, while avoiding a vicious life of improper behavior.

On portals of the west facade at Strasbourg, there are two iconographic levels that complement each another: the figures in the jambs run morally parallel to the narratives across the tympana. The lower, more tangible, and larger images in the jambs represent personified qualities and conduct that lead to Salvation or Damnation, as well as historical figures that ideally model a pathway to Salvation. The large-scale jamb figures and their message parallel the narrative of Christ's Life, Death, and Resurrection in the tympana, which also illustrates a model of how to live and behave, but one that is physically removed in space from the viewer and perhaps figuratively too, as Christ is the protagonist here.

With the entire sculpted program of Strasbourg in mind, it becomes clear that there was a preference for compositional clarity through dichotomization, and that moral lucidity was emphasized through gestures, facial features, and other physical attributes.

Furthermore, emphasis was placed upon the suffering of Christ, which intended to provide moral motivation while appealing to compassion and piety. The Fürst der Welt sculpture and the larger Wise and Foolish Virgins cycle on the right portal thus fit comfortably on the west facade at Strasbourg, as they demand visual contemplation, seek to communicate moral principles, and codify values in a legible manner.

The great architectural and iconographic achievements of Strasbourg were adopted and adapted at Freiburg minster. Here the formal architectural elements of Gothic portals were altered to fit the enclosed porch structure of the minster. The Freiburg portal melds the subject of the three portals at Strasbourg into a single space (Figures 91-105).[47] The central focus of the tympanum at Freiburg remains the Crucifixion, which appears at the center of the composition (Figure 97). Similar to Strasbourg, the Flagellation scene at Freiburg recalls actual contemporary *Andachtsbilder* used to evoke devotion in private settings (Figure 157).

The single sculptural figures that extend across the inner walls of the porch at Freiburg combine strategies employed at Strasbourg and the great French cathedrals. Culling from French Gothic portals, for example, the single figures of the innermost jambs comprise narrative scenes that speak directly to those in the tympanum: the Three Magi, Annunciation, and Visitation. The sculptures of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, Christ, the Fürst der Welt, Ecclesia, Synagoga, Voluptas, and the angel, look to Strasbourg in their message, dichotomized arrangement, and legible presentation.

[47] For the iconography of Freiburg, see Chapter Two, 102-113.

Around the start of the construction of the west facade at Strasbourg cathedral (and presumably before that of Freiburg), Basel began construction of a sculpted portal program that contained a cycle of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Figures 81-83).[48] Based on the remaining architectural elements and sculpture, the Gothic portal at Basel likely combined architectural elements of the Gothic style derived in France and fused it with moralizing themes that were steeped in the spirituality of the Upper Rhine. The result would be a portal program, that while looking French Gothic formally, would appeal iconographically and thematically to local tastes and preferences that were shaped by the mendicant orders.

The south portal at Worms cathedral deviates from the programs at Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel in that it is much smaller in scale, and neither moral dichotomy nor the suffering of Christ is the central focus (Figures 20-28).[49] At Worms, the tympanum illustrates the Coronation of the Virgin and the surrounding archivolts depict scenes from the Old and New Testament, while sculptures of the Evangelists and Old Testament figures flank the door. The allegorical and moralizing figures of Frau Welt, Charity, Faith, and Synagogue appear on a pillar to the right of the portal door and are the most similar feature to the portals at Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel, in their arrangement and moralizing undertones; the arrangement of these figures, as well as gestures and facial features, reveal the moral nature of each figure. As we have seen, Frau Welt's moral message is suggested by her placement next to Synagoga and diagonally opposite to

[48] For original Gothic portal at Basel, see Chapter Two, 94-102.
[49] For the iconography of the south portal of Worms cathedral, see Chapter One, 32-42.

Charity; her luxurious clothing and repulsive backside further underscore her moral shortcomings.

In short, as the only major building projects in the late thirteenth century in this region, the portals central to this study – Strasbourg, Basel, Freiburg, and Worms to a lesser extent – are representative of Upper Rhenish building tendencies of the time. These penchants reflect a delicate balance of the French Gothic style and architectural elements through the systemized format of the portal structure and sculpture, with regional thematic preferences that leaned toward morality, dichotomy, and compassion that were certainly informed by the highly fervent religious activities on the Upper Rhine. The legible display, in terms of scale, proximity, and clarity, of the moralizing themes on these Upper Rhine portals, I believe, reflects the saturation of moralizing theology in the Upper Rhine in the thirteenth century. These moral concerns were preached heavily by the Dominicans, who reached a wide and varied audience in the region.

I find the inclusion of Christian ideals emphasized by the mendicants, specifically the Dominicans, on Upper Rhenish portal programs has to do with the indirect promulgation of mendicant ideas that appealed to the populace, the same people who were becoming increasingly responsible for the building and commissioning of the churches under discussion. In other words, as power for the building campaigns in Strasbourg and Freiburg shifted from the bishops or patrons to the citizens, the subject and themes of the portal programs shifted as well. The secular clergy was no longer the main driving force behind the portal and building programs; instead it was the citizens, and as they took over their interests did as well.

A viewer approaching the portals of Strasbourg, Freiburg, or Basel would be enveloped by moralizing sculpture that would serve as a model for how to live and behave, a theme that was often preached. For the first time, it was not saints or the Virgin Mary who served as models, but rather it was tangible virtues and models of proper conduct, which could help guide the viewer toward a path of Salvation, and their negative counterparts who could help steer the viewer from Damnation. With this in mind, it is not useful to single out the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt as iconographic oddities; instead, these allegorical sculptures are part of a preoccupation with moralizing themes on the portal programs of this area. And while these sculptures certainly stood out for their unique iconography, they fit in aptly with the larger sculpted portals on which they appear.

Later German Gothic Portals

The unique iconography of these portals along the Upper Rhine is further underscored when we look at portals built shortly afterward both in the region and elsewhere. Moralizing, compassionate, and dichotomized themes are nearly absent in these later examples or are repositioned to secondary placements. For example, the portal from about 1310 of Saint-Florent at Niederhaslach, twenty-five miles west of Strasbourg, depicts the Coronation of the Virgin, Annunciation, and the legend of Saint Florent (Figure 158).[50] Similarly, Saint-Martin in Colmar, about thirty miles west of Freiburg, has two tympana from around 1300, which depict, respectively, Christ

[50] Friedrich Willy, *Stiftskirche Niederhaslach, Elsass, Bas Rhin* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1966).

Enthroned and the Adoration of the Magi, and St. Nicholas and a Last Judgment scene (Figures 159-160).[51]

The largest sculpted portal in the Upper Rhine immediately after those at Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel is the west portal of the church of Saint-Thiébaut in Thann (ca. 1324-1400), just 30 miles northwest of Basel (Figure 161).[52] And just as in Niederhaslach and Colmar, this later portal is smaller in scale than the Upper Rhenish examples of the late thirteenth century and has reverted back to traditional Gothic themes, in which emphasis is placed upon the Virgin Mary. Moralizing themes on this portal are nearly absent: there are no virtues and vices or Wise and Foolish Virgins. At Thann, three tympana illustrating the Life of the Virgin, the Crucifixion, and Infancy of Christ have been squeezed into one portal and the narratives in each tympanum are densely packed and not uniform. For example, twenty-fives scenes are packed in the upper tympana, resulting in visual ambiguity.

Beyond the Upper Rhine, a similar dense portal narrative structure was adopted in about 1377 on the Virgin Portal at Ulm minster and about 1356-1380 on the south choir portal at Augsburg cathedral (Figures 162-163).[53] Again, the moralizing and compassionate themes that once were the central focus of the late thirteenth-century portals at Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel are nearly absent in these later examples. Legible moralizing examples have given way in these later building projects to more

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[51] See Peter Anstett, *Das Martinsmünster zu Colmar* (Berlin: Mann, 1966).
[52] For more on Saint-Thiébaut in Thann, see Assaf Pinkus, *Workshops and Patrons of St. Theobald in Thann* (New York: Waxmann Münster, 2006); Pinkus, *Patrons and Narratives of the Parler School*, 83-136.
[53] For more on the portals at Ulm and Augsburg, see Pinkus, *Patrons and Narratives*, 137-191.

traditional Christological themes and the growing cult of the Virgin Mary and saints. Similarly, apostles and saints have reclaimed their spots in the jambs in these later examples.

The sculpted portal at Regensburg cathedral from the late thirteenth century is more contemporaneous with Strasbourg, Freiburg, and Basel, and thus helps to highlight the unique character of the Upper Rhenish portals from the late thirteenth century (Figure 164).[54] Universally venerated saints line the jambs on the central and side portals of the west facade at Regensburg, Old and New Testament scenes occupy the archivolts, and the central theme in the tympanum is the Virgin Mary. The exception to this later departure from moralizing themes is St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg, which was likely informed by the earlier examples on the Upper Rhine and presents a Wise and Foolish Virgins cycle with the Fürst der Welt.[55]

This examination of the changing nature of portal programs both along the Upper Rhine and beyond helps to distinguish the iconographic and narrative structure of the Upper Rhenish portals of the late thirteenth century from the French or German Gothic examples that preceded or succeeded them. The Upper Rhenish sculpted portal programs from the late thirteenth century display an unparalleled emphasis on moralizing themes and on the suffering of Christ, which, I believe, was informed by the theological character and moral motivations of the region and time.

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[54] See Achim Hubel and Manfred Schuller, *Regensburger Dom: Das Hauptportal* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerischer Verlag, 2000).
[55] See Chapter Two, 113-119.

MORALIZING ART: *ANDACHTSBILDER* AND ALLEGORIZATIONS

Morality and pastoral care were concerns that affected nearly all of Europe, but were felt particularly strongly along the Upper Rhine, where mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, had a strong presence and a penchant for preaching morality and compassion to a highly spiritual laity. It was also in this region that moral issues and concerns became a focal point of sculpted portal programs, as we have just seen. While morally-dominated portal programs were particular to Upper Rhenish churches, other forms of artistic expression in and around the region also explored moral themes, although not always in the traditional sense that sought to instruct good versus behavior. The following section will examine select moralizing images and themes in visual culture, other than on church facades, that permeated medieval society. And while morality was a ubiquitous concern, visual images in the Rhineland and southern Germany stand out from their European counterparts for their highly moralizing nature, clarity, and legibility, as well as sheer number.

Andachtsbilder

The sculpted image of the Flagellation of Christ at the Landesmuseum in Stuttgart is part of a body of works referred to collectively as *Andachtsbilder* by art historians beginning in the twentieth century (Figure 155). Emerging around 1300, these works, mostly in sculpture, were used in private settings to induce meditation and entice devotion, often through contemplation of Christ's suffering and Passion.[56] In general,

[56] For more on *Andachtsbilder*, see Erwin Panofsky, "'Imago Pietatis': Ein Beitrag zu Typen geschichtes des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrix,'" in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1927), 261-308; Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and

Andachtsbilder were single motifs that were pulled from larger narratives, so as to maximize the emotion of the subject. For example, the sculpture of the Flagellation of Christ was taken from the larger narrative of the Passion of Christ.[57]

As a model for ideal spiritual devotion and as a vehicle through which that could be achieved, *Andachtsbilder* were often associated with monastics in Flanders and along the Rhine as props for spiritual meditation. In particular, the Upper Rhine and southern Germany served as the artistic center for such art, paralleling the spread and concentration of German mysticism in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Originally from the Dominican convent of St. Katharinenthal in Switzerland, a sculpted group of Christ and Saint John (now at the Museum Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerp, inv. MMB.0224) from around 1305 is a fine example of an *Andachtsbild*; it shows a young John the Evangelist resting his head against the chest of Christ, who is seated beside him (Figure 165). Christ embraces John warmly and looks outward pensively. This scene recalls a moment from the Last Supper as described in John 13:23-26 and certainly would have been a point of spiritual departure for the nuns of St. Katharinenthal, who would have likely used this image to induce empathy and mystical

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Imaginative Devotions," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 72 (1969): 159-170; Robert Suckale, "Arma Christi. Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder," *Städel Jahrbuch* 6 (1977): 177-208. Jeffrey Hamburger has argued that the overuse of the term has resulted in an "unnecessary and false separation of genres with a corresponding separation of function," when in fact many images, not just *Andachstbilder*, could serve devotional functions. Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," *Viator* 20 (1989): 174. Reprinted in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1989), 111-148.

[57] Other motifs included the *Arma Christi*, *Pietà*, Man of Sorrows, Veil of Veronica, *Ecce Homo*, Holy Grave, Maria in Childbed, and the group of Christ and Saint John.

devotion and looked to it as a model for their own relationship with Christ.[58] A line from the mid-fourteenth-century life of the nun Adelhait Pfefferhartin, also from St. Katharinenthal, recounts that she would pray "in the choir before the image of Saint John resting on our lord's head."[59] So powerful was this image that a later convent chronicle reports a nun levitating before it as she prayed.[60]

As a vehicle for mystical experience, *Andachtsbilder* had a strong tradition among nuns and beguines. Many of these spiritual women were under the care of the Dominican order, which understood images as tools for moral and spiritual education for both lay and spiritual audiences. Gertrude of Helfta from the Cistercian convent at Helfta mentions a crucifix painted in a book that was used to help evoke a vision, in which she received wounds of love that mimicked the wounds of Christ. The actual crucifix that Gertrude mentions is not known, but it did have the potential to facilitate a mystical experience, thus functioning as an *Andachtsbild*. In another vision, Gertrude saw a Visitation scene, which she describes in terms that could be used to describe a sculpture of the same subject from St. Katharinenthal (Figure 166; Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.190.724). Gertrude writes:

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[58] In her discussion of a group of Christ and Saint John at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Carolyn S. Jirousek has suggested that this motif may also recall John as the bridegroom at the Marriage Feast at Cana or be associated with the cult of the Sacred Heart. See Carolyn S. Jirousek, "Christ and St. John the Evangelist as a Model of Medieval Mysticism," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 6 (2001): 6-27. See also Eleanor S. Greenhill, "The Group of Christ and St. John as Author Portrait: Literary Sources, Pictoral Parallels," in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1972), 406-416.

[59] Joan A. Holladay, "Saint John the Evangelist Resting on the Bosom of Christ," in *Gothic Sculpture in America* 2*: The Museums of the Midwest,* ed. Dorothy Gillerman (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 328, No. 240. Original in Anton Birlinger, "Die Nonnen von St. Katharinental bei Dieszenhofen," *Alemannia* 15 (1887): 152.

[60] Jirousek, 20.

> There also appeared the immaculate womb of the glorious Virgin, as transparent as the purest crystal, through which her internal organs, penetrated and filled with divinity, shone brightly, just as gold, wrapped in a silk of various colors, shines through a crystal. Indeed, one saw the little blossoming boy, the only Son of the highest Father, nurse avidly in delight at the heart of his Virgin Mother.[61]

Similarly, Margareta Ebner, a Dominican nun from the convent of Maria Medingen near Dillingen, described an image that may have corresponded to an image or was as clear as a painting: "At the same time the loving soul was given to me inwardly, just as it is painted."[62] Other instructional works by Beatrice of Nazareth, Marguerite Porete, and Mechthild of Magdeburg, for example, also provided tangible paths to reach mystical union with God, often through the aid of physical objects.

A four-part miniature from the instructional text *La Sainte Abbaye* from Alsace from around 1310 illustrates the steps taken by a Dominican nun to receive a mystical vision (Figure 167).[63] In the first scene, the nun repents her sins before her counselor; in the second scene, the nun prays before an altar with an image (perhaps a sculpture) of the Coronation of the Virgin atop it; in the third scene, as the nun meditates upon the Eucharist and Christ appears in a vision; and in the final scene, the nun receives a vision of the Trinity. The use of images as a facilitator for mystical experience, as illustrated in

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[61] Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval*, 118. Original in Gertrude of Helfta, *Oeuvres spirituelles*, vol. 2-4, in *Le Héraut*, Sources Chrétiennes, 139, 143, and 255, ed. Pierre Doyère et al. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968-1978), 4:50-52.

[62] I thank Professor Marc Pierce of the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Texas at Austin for his help with this translation. "Mir wart auch ze der selben zit diu innend sel so inderlichen geben, *als man sie malet*." Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," *Viator,* 172. Original in P. Romuald Banz, ed., *Christus und die minnende Seele: Zwei spätmittelhochdeutsche mystische Gedichte. Im Anhang ein Prosadisput verwandten Inhaltes* (Breslau: M & H Marcus, 1908), 225-226.

[63] MS Yates Thomas 11, British Library, London . On this manuscript, see Aden Kummler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

the *La Sainte Abbaye* miniature, was becoming more commonplace by the fourteenth century, especially in southern Germany, the nucleus of German mysticism.[64] The Dominican Heinrich Suso, active around Lake Constance, believed that images were essential "so that through exterior signs, fragile interior human memory might be assisted."[65] In Suso's text of spiritual instruction, *The Exemplar*, illustrations are used in a similar manner to incite devotion.

Select scenes in the sculpted tympana at Strasbourg and Freiburg had the potential to address viewers on a comparable spiritual and devotional level (Figures 153 and 157). For example, the carved scene of the Flagellation of Christ in the central tympanum closely resembled *Andachtsbilder* of the same subject.[66] And while an *Andachtsbild* of the subject would have been used for private devotion, the scene in the portals could have conjured up similar spiritual feelings despite its distance from the viewer and public setting.

By the mid- to late fourteenth century, these devotional images had expanded beyond the confines of the convent and were being more commonly used by laymen and

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[64] On the spread of German mysticism, see Bernard McGinn, *Meister Eckhart, and the Beguine Mystics: Hadewijch of Brabant, Mechthild of Magdeburg, and Marguerite Porete* (New York: Continuum, 1994); Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism, 1200-1350* (New York: Crossroad, 1998).

[65] Hamburger, "The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans," in *The Visual and the Visionary*, 206. First published in Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 20-46. Suso's original text is in Pius Künzle, *Heinrich Seuses: Horologium Sapientiae* (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1977), 597.

[66] Similarly, the Holy Grave in the St. Catherine Chapel in Strasbourg cathedral functioned as a devotional image not unlike an *Andachtsbild*. Interestingly, this tomb (ca. 1345-1349) is extremely similar to the tomb depicted in the scene of the Women at the Empty Tomb in the central tympanum. See Charlotte Stanford, "From Bishop's Grave to Holy Grave: The Construction of Strasbourg Cathedral's St. Catherine Chapel," *Gesta* 46 (2007): 59-80.

laywomen as instruments to channel and deepen their faith. Devotional books for the laity increasingly presented imagery upon which the reader would meditate and contemplate. And by the end of the Middle Ages, with woodcuts and prints, devotional imagery and visionary aspirations reached new and diverse lay audiences.

This brief discussion of *Andachtsbilder* helps to situate the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt and their highly moralizing portals within the unique artistic and spiritual milieu of the Rhineland and southern Germany in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, where there was a prevalence of images to direct spiritual practice in different ways. While *Andachtsbilder* were not highly moralizing in the sense that they illustrated right from wrong and good from bad like Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt, they could serve as vehicles for visionary experience and as tools for spiritual devotion that could result in mystical union with Christ.

Allegorization

To fully understand the artistic context from which the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures derive, we need to revisit allegory and, in particular, personifications in visual form.[67] As a technique of allegory, personifications were increasingly used in the Middle Ages as a way to convey abstract qualities in a human form; personification was a more understandable way to convey allegory. More often than not, personifications took female form, since in Latin abstract qualities were gendered female.[68] For example, female personifications were used by classical authors and artists to concretize ideas such

[67] For more on allegory, see Chapter One, 20-21.
[68] Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 41.

as time, respect, or individual countries. The ancient tradition was adopted by theologians in the early Christian period and was applied subsequently to art. Despite the long tradition of personification in Christian history, this technique reached a high point in both text and visual form in the High Middle Ages. Frau Welt is a fitting example of the medieval interest in personifications. This figure was first used in a literary context in the early thirteenth century (though presumably she existed before that in the oral tradition) to convey the concept of the world and was later adapted into visual form at Worms cathedral and even later in works on paper.

Allegory, both in textual and visual form, played an important role in medieval theology, but with the increased emphasis placed upon pastoral care beginning in the late twelfth century, allegory became a strategic tool to educate and instruct the laity. Artists and patrons were aware of the potential of allegory and personification as tools to inform, and beginning in the twelfth century allegories and personifications became staples of sculpted portal programs.[69] A prime example of this was the virtues and vices.

The earliest representations of the virtues and vices as female personifications appear in the work of Prudentius (348-ca. 410). In his Latin poem *Psychomachia*, Prudentius adapts the classical battle epic to Christian subjects and themes. The poem narrates the battle between personified virtues and vices and depicts the triumph of the virtues. The battle parallels "Pauline thought that the Christian must arm himself with

[69] As we have seen, it was only on the sculpted portal programs at Strasbourg, Basel, and Freiburg where the personifications became the central focus and were transformed into vehicles for moral instruction. In addition to the virtues and vices and Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Labors of the Months, Signs of the Zodiac, Acts of Charity, and Liberal Arts were not uncommon on Gothic sculpted portals.

spiritual weapons in order to face successfully the forces of evil."[70] The earliest extant illustrated manuscripts of this work date to the ninth century and depict the virtues and vices literally in battle with one another.

By the twelfth century this dynamic mode of representation was replaced by static portrayals of the personifications of the virtues and vices. And by the thirteenth century the theme had become a common fixture on church portal programs. In her study on the iconography of the virtues and vices, Jennifer O'Reilly considers this surge in the theme in the Middle Ages in relation to the increasing importance of pastoral care in the wake of church reform, most notably the Fourth Lateran Council.[71] To theologians and moralists, the theme could address spiritual concerns and illustrate vividly good and bad conduct.

Similar to the visual representation of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the virtues and vices first appeared on church facades in small scale and in secondary spaces, such as socles and archivolts, and it wasn't until the west facade of Strasbourg cathedral that the theme appeared in large scale and in a primary position in the jambs. Also similar to the Wise and Foolish Virgins in visual form, the virtues and vices had the ability to convey moral ideals and values, as well as their negative immoral counterparts; these images became models and counter-models for viewers on how and how not to behave.

An early and small-scale example appears at Notre-Dame at Paris as a cycle of twenty-four virtues and vices appeared in the decade of the 1210s (Figure 168). The virtues and vices are socle reliefs on the left and right jambs of the central portal of the

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[70] Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1.

[71] Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988).

west facade. The upper zone of the cycle depicts the twelve virtues as enthroned female personifications: Humility, Prudence, Chastity, Charity, Hope, Faith, Fortitude, Patience, Gentleness, Concordia, Obedience, and Perseverance. Each virtue holds a medallion with an attribute.[72] Charity presents a medallion with an image of a lamb, for example, while Concordia holds one with an olive branch.

In contrast to the symbolic and calm nature of the virtues, the vices, which appear in the lower zone, are "scenes illustrative of vicious conduct and is based entirely on the horrifying transitoriness of wicked joys and impulses."[73] From left to right each vice is paired with its corresponding virtue: Pride, Foolishness (?), Lust, Avarice, Despair, Idolatry, Cowardice, Impatience, Harshness, Discord (restored), Disobedience, and Inconstancy. Cowardice, for example, depicts a man running from a hare, while Despair illustrates a man piercing himself with a sword.

Willibald Sauerländer has noted that the virtues and vices cycle at Notre-Dame is "an eloquent testimony to a thirteenth-century trend towards greater characterizations of individual figures in traditional image cycles in an attempt to make them more comprehensible, because closer to everyday life."[74] Notre-Dame achieves this through the portrayal of the vices as everyday scenes, which helps to ground the abstracted quality and make it understandable and legible to the viewer, who would have met these reliefs at near eye level. Furthermore, much like the Wise and Foolish Virgins in the doorposts on this same portal, the virtues and vices depict qualities and behaviors that

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[72] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices,* 75-81.
[73] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices,* 76.
[74] Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France*, 453.

will lead to Salvation or Damnation, as represented in the Last Judgment scene in the tympanum. Other cathedrals replicated this newfound emphasis upon the virtues and vices as guides for how to behave and as a potential path to Salvation or Damnation, but all the cycles are in small scale and in secondary positions on the cathedral, such as on archivolts and socle reliefs. For example, at Amiens the virtues and vices appear as reliefs in quatrefoils in the socles of the central west portal around 1230, and on the south transept portal at Chartres the cycle was carved into the pillars before the doorways about 1230-1240.

The virtues and vices achieved another milestone at Strasbourg, where, as we have seen, the cycle appeared in large scale for the first time as jamb figures in the left portal of the west facade, bestowing on the theme unprecedented importance and prominence (Figures 65-66). At Strasbourg, the relationship between the virtues and vices and the Wise and Foolish Virgins sculptures as models for proper and improper conduct and behavior was further underscored by their large scale and by their mirrored positions on the left and right portals. Strasbourg makes clear that one's conduct and behavior paves the path to Salvation or Damnation.

The Ecclesia-Synagoga motif was another personified theme that reached new heights beginning in the thirteenth century and one that was also becoming increasingly moralizing. Nina Rowe has argued that, beginning in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga became staples on monumental sculpted

portals on German and French churches.[75] Although Ecclesia and Synagoga had been personified in visual form as early as the fifth century, the iconography changed by the thirteenth century to reflect new anxieties about an increasing Jewish presence in medieval Christian society.[76] Medieval sculptors and patrons conveyed these contemporary concerns through a moralizing formula we have come to see time and again: a good model stands opposite a negative model. This dichotomy appears on the south transept portal of Strasbourg cathedral, where Ecclesia stands on a pier next to the left jambs and Synagoga on a pier next to the right jambs (Figure 148). Ecclesia wears a crown and holds a cross and chalice, symbols of the Church. Defying earlier inclusive motifs of the subject, Synagoga now stands in opposition to Ecclesia, appearing blindfolded with a broken lance and holding tablets of the Old Law in her left hand. These sculptures represent the Old and New Law in a way that contrasts the ideals and values of one against those of the other: old versus new, more than right versus wrong.

The Ecclesia-Synagoga motif was not uncommon in thirteenth-century monumental sculpture on portal programs and varies little from this dichotomized and

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[75] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City*; Nina Rowe, "Synagoga Tumbles, a Rider Triumphs: Clerical Viewers and the Fürstenportal of Bamberg Cathedral," *Gesta* 45 (2006): 15-42; Nina Rowe, "Idealization and Subjection at the South Façade of Strasbourg Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge*, 179-202.

[76] The earliest example of Ecclesia and Synagoga appears as mosaics on the interior west wall of Santa Sabina in Rome (ca. 422-432). In early examples of the motif, Synagoga appears as a regal female whose time has come to an end, but whose role is an integral part of Christianity. This motif changed by the thirteenth century, after a record number of Jews began migrating from the Middle East to parts of Europe beginning in the late tenth century. As their numbers steadily began to grow in Europe, and especially in the Rhineland, strong Jewish communities had begun to form and Jews began to take up increasingly important and prominent roles in medieval society, and this became a source of tension for clerics and theologians. The new Synagoga "became a public expression of a beautiful and docile Judaism, a fitting pendant to images of ideal Christian rule evoked by Ecclesia." In short, she stood morally opposed to Ecclesia. Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City*, 239. For more on the Ecclesia-Synagoga motif throughout history, see Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City*, 47-78.

moralized representation.[77] In the original arrangement of the lateral wall sculpture at Freiburg, the placement of Synagoga alongside the Foolish Virgins, the Fürst der Welt, and Voluptas, who appear directly across from Ecclesia with the Wise Virgins, Christ, and an angel, helps to create a seamless moral dichotomy between the left and right lateral walls: good versus bad, right versus wrong (Figure 105). The sculptures of Faith (closely related in theme to Ecclesia) and Synagoga at Worms cathedral also appear opposite one another literally and figuratively through composition, gesture, facial feature, and attributes (Figure 28).

The Wise and Foolish Virgins, as discussed in detail in Chapter Two, certainly fit into this trend of personification and dichotomization. The increasing inclusion of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the virtues and vices, and Ecclesia and Synagoga on sculpted portal programs on church facades beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries speaks not only of increasing interest in the moral dichotomy and discourse of opposites at this point, but also an increasing interest in personifications, which had the potential to ground abstract ideas, values, and qualities, and in turn to educate audiences. In this sense, the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures are also part of another artistic trend in the Rhineland, a trend that reacts to pastoral concerns and teachings on morality in visual form.

[77] Other examples of the Ecclesia-Synagoga motif in monumental sculptural form appear at Reims cathedral and Bamberg cathedral. The motif also appeared in other medium, such as carved in altarpieces and manuscripts.

CONCLUSION

This final chapter has sought to situate the allegories of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt in a contemporary artistic context. Just as the religious trends discussed in Chapter Three were increasingly geared toward the laity and presented moral themes in a variety of techniques – exempla, teaching by example, *pastoralia*, and discourse of opposites – so too was art increasingly moralized and dichotomized, so as to appeal to wide and varied audiences of different educational levels, intelligence, and spiritual inclinations. Moralizing themes, often in the guise of personifications, such as the virtues and vices, Ecclesia and Synagoga, and the Wise and the Foolish Virgins, became staples in medieval visual culture beginning in the twelfth century. These motifs concretized and gave visual form to ideas and values that were promulgated by theologians and friars. Gothic sculpted portal programs often played host to such imagery, but it was primarily on portals of urban churches on the Upper Rhine that the moral legibility of such figures became the central focus. It is on these same Upper Rhenish portals that Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt made their sculptural debuts. Considering that the artistic trends of the Upper Rhine paralleled theological ones, the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt can be thought of less as isolated examples of regional preferences and more as regional solutions to larger European concerns about morality and pastoral care, which manifested themselves in visual form.

The discussion of *Andachtsbilder* in this chapter, while not directly related to Frau Welt or the Fürst der Welt, is not arbitrary. The use and rapid proliferation of such images on the Upper Rhine and in southern Germany attests to the increasing recognition

of the power of images as tools for spiritual guidance and devotion: while *Andachtsbilder* were used often for private and personal devotion, the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt appeared in a public setting to warn against improper behavior. Artists and patrons along the Upper Rhine tapped into the power and potential of images to varying degrees, for different publics to consume in a variety of settings.

I would also argue that in addition to their consistency with the artistic milieu of the Upper Rhine in the late thirteenth century, the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt are visual counterparts to the textual exempla preferred and employed by so many preachers beginning in the late twelfth century. Much like the dramatic immediacy of their textual counterparts, the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures were visually eye-catching in order to attract the viewer's attention, and their legible and lucid iconography makes clear their moral message. In this sense, the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures functioned like visual exempla; they possessed the ability to convey a moral message easily and rather amusingly in hope of steering the viewer from wrongdoing.

All this situates the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt sculptures in an extraordinary religious, cultural, and artistic environment: one that was highly charged theologically; one that was highly cognizant of the potential of images for public and private devotion and for both lay and religious audiences; and one that witnessed the increasing role and growth of lay spirituality. Taken together, this helps to contextualize the allegories and situate their exceptional appearance in an exceptional geography, whose concerns and issues were anything but exceptional.

CONCLUSION
THE AFTERLIFE OF FRAU WELT AND THE FÜRST DER WELT

Returning to Heinrich Hoffmann's cautionary tale of *The Story of Little Suck-a-Thumb* with which we began this study, we remember that the moralizing message was crystallized through vivid yet succinct text and through memorable illustrations (Figures 1-2). Presenting the moral in this manner allowed the intended youthful audience to grasp the meaning rather easily. The sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt functioned much like this nineteenth-century cautionary tale: a clever and catchy iconography translated a more serious moral message about improper behavior (Figures 3-16). As a statement about the deception of the world and the materiality it offered, these allegories sought to guide audiences of all kinds, away from folly and toward virtue.

Within the context of contemporary religious and artistic trends of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the localization of these allegories in sculptural form along the Upper Rhine make sense; the Rhineland, specifically the Upper Rhine and southern Germany, was a hotbed of religious and artistic activity at that point. Much of this activity centered on pastoral care, which concerned itself with, among other things, morality and lay spirituality, and art played a major role in disseminating the message.

In attempting to understand the geographic exclusivities of the sculptural allegories in a religious and artistic context, I return to the lackluster answer that August Closs offered and one that has heretofore left scholars satisfied. Closs wrote

that the allegories were simply regional preferences.[1] While they certainly were preferences, after considering the religious and artistic contexts of the Upper Rhine in the late thirteenth century in this study, I find that Closs's statement needs to be qualified: I would argue that beyond simply representing regional preferences, the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt are regional artistic reactions to larger, pan-European issues of the thirteenth century. And because of the highly charged religious and artistic nature of the Upper Rhine at this time, these allegories, their message, unique iconography, and dramatic display, appear as distinctive statements within this larger context.

Following the mandates of Lateran IV and the rise of the mendicant orders, the Upper Rhine became a focal point of religious activity. New religious emphases and techniques, such as teaching by example, discourse of opposites, preaching, and exempla, were embraced and advocated by the Dominicans who saturated towns along the Upper Rhine. Contemporary sermons, manuals, and other *pastoralia* instructed preachers and friars to educate the laity in a comprehensible manner, such as through exempla and allegories. And it is in this highly-charged religious environment that the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt emerged.

This dense concentration of religious activity, with its center on pastoral care, certainly influenced the production and use of art. Just as *pastoralia* were increasingly geared toward a lay audience, I would argue that the most telling feature of this regional religious zeal manifested itself artistically on sculpted portal

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[1] August Closs, *Weltlohn, Teufelsbeichte, Waldbruder* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1934), 6. See Introduction, 11.

programs, where images were highly instructional, legible, and tangible for all audiences. The portals central to this study – Strasbourg, Freiburg, Basel, and Worms to a lesser extent – are cases in point. As the only major sculpted portals constructed in the late thirteenth century in the Upper Rhine, these portals display a clear preference for moralizing themes presented in a transparent, legible manner. This was achieved through several techniques: dichotomized composition and arrangement; large scale and tangible positions close to the viewer; and lucid and telling iconographies, gestures, facial features, and other physical attributes. For example, at Strasbourg the sculpture of the Fürst der Welt reveals its message in multiple ways: placement on the portal, iconography, and physical attributes. The importance of the message of the Fürst der Welt is suggested by its large size and close proximity to the viewer.

Furthermore, the central focus on the tympana on these portals is on the Passion of Christ, not the Last Judgment more typical elsewhere. I would argue that the thematic shift toward the Suffering and Passion of Christ, as seen particularly on the portal tympana at Strasbourg and Freiburg, is further reflective of the region's religious practices, which tended to use such imagery as a means to incite compassion and devotion.

The Upper Rhine (and other parts of the Rhine and in Southern Germany) recognized the potential of the image as a vehicle to inspire devotion and compassion, as well as to function as an integral tool to educate, instruct, and warn audiences on morals and behavior. And it is in this environment that the sculptures of Frau Welt

and the Fürst der Welt emerged. I offer no direct, linear reason as to why Upper Rhine artists and patrons included sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt in their sculpted portal programs, rather I suggest that the amalgam of regional religious activity and artistic preferences created a fertile environment for these allegories to develop and thrive.

I would also argue that the appearance of sculptures of the Fürst der Welt in Bavaria beginning in the early decades of the fourteenth century has more to do with the movement of workshops and ideas along trade routes than with any artistic or religious preferences within that region. The example of the Fürst der Welt at St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg is the only example outside of the Upper Rhine that was once part of a sculpted portal program, but unlike the Upper Rhine examples morality is not the central theme of the Nuremberg portals. Because of the uniqueness and catchy iconography of the Fürst der Welt, it would not be hard to imagine that these later artists and patrons simply wanted to replicate the allegory that had found great success along the Upper Rhine.

If the religious fervor of the Upper Rhine did not fizzle by the mid-fourteenth century, why then did the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt fall from favor? It is difficult to answer with certainty, although it may be as simple as the gradual decline of major building projects along the Upper Rhine beginning in the early fourteenth century.

Although partially responsible for the halt of major building projects beginning in the mid-fourteenth century, the Black Death also helped preserve the

message of the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt in the different iconographies of *momento mori* imagery. By the end of the fourteenth century in plague-ridden Europe, the Dance of Death, the *Ars Moriendi*, the Three Living and the Three Dead, for example, focused on the decay of the body as a reminder of the transience of the world and life in it. The deterioration of the body in these motifs recalls the message and iconography of the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt. For example, a painting of a bridal couple (Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 1932.179) illustrates two newlyweds in a loving embrace before a verdant landscape (Figure 169). This panel was paired originally with another (Oeuvre Notre-Dame Strasbourg, inv. mba 1442) depicting the lovers as rotting corpses with snakes and toads burrowing through their bodies (Figure 170). The juxtaposition of two extreme depictions of the couple reminds the viewer that life ends in death and decay.

The iconographic legacy of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt is preserved perhaps best in *transi* tombs, a type of tomb that emerged in the late fourteenth century and continued well into the early modern period, that portrayed the body of the deceased in a state of decay often with toads, snakes, and worms feasting on the cadaver.[2] Interestingly, many *transi* tombs are specific to German-speaking lands and often appear in the same regions that gave rise to the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt.[3] One of the earliest *transi* tombs from the late fourteenth century that compares well with the Frau Welt and Fürst der Welt iconography is that of François

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[2] For more on *transi* tombs, see Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

[3] There are rich examples of *transi* tombs outside of Germany, in England and France. See Cohen, 120-187.

de la Sarra (d. 1360) in La Sarraz in Switzerland (Figure 171).[4] Toads, snakes, and worms cover and feast on François's body, reminding the viewer of the perishability of the body and flesh and their eventual fate.

Linked more thematically than iconographically to Frau Welt is a group of subjects that found popularity in prints, which feature a woman tempting or seducing a foolish man through her beauty. In a woodcut accompanying Sebastian Brandt's *Ship of Fools* from 1494, a beautiful Lady Venus reins in a blindfolded cupid, a donkey, an ape and two fools, while Death peers out from behind her, "pointing to the deceptive nature of love and the transience of all worldly pleasures" (Figure 172).[5] Similarly, in Hans Brosamer's *A Whore Venerated by a Fool*, from about 1530, the fool lying motionless in awe of the woman's beauty is reminiscent of the relationship that Frau Welt had with her male suitors (Figure 173). Along these same lines, an early sixteenth-century interactive woodcut illustrates an attractive spinner, but when the flap of her skirt is lifted one finds a snake slithering between her legs (Figure 174). This iconography shares with Frau Welt the idea of the deception and ephemerality of beauty and materiality.[6] Although the allegory of Frau Welt did not continue directly beyond the Middle Ages, it is clear that its legacy filtered into various iconographies in the early modern period.

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[4] La Sarraz is actually situated in the French-speaking region of Switzerland and is about one hundred fifteen miles southwest of Basel.

[5] Christa Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 96.

[6] For more on the late Frau Welt-like images see, Suzanne Karr Schmidt, "Memento Mori: The Deadly Art of Interaction," in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfand (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 2:261-296; Eddy de Jonghe, "The Changing Face of Lady World," in *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000).

Returning to the two questions with which I began this study: why did the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt first appear nestled on church facades along the Upper Rhine, and why only in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries? I have sought to reimagine the religious and artistic environment from which these allegories grew in order to interpret these geographic and temporal phenomena. In this endeavor, I have found the Upper Rhine in the late thirteenth century to be a focal point of religious and artistic activity. With such a religiously fervent environment in mind, I find these allegorical sculptures to fit in with the spiritual milieu of the region, which was highly reactive to larger European Christian mandates. Viewing the allegories through such a lens helps situate them in broader, yet regional, artistic trends and religious tendencies. In this sense, the regional religious and artistic character of the Upper Rhine helped to create and shape the sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt, which at their core sought to codify values and communicate moral principles.

The sculptures of Frau Welt and the Fürst der Welt, as well as the larger sculptured programs on which they appear, might be understood as a medieval cautionary tale in pictorial form. Just as Heinrich Hoffmann's tales were intended to provide moral instruction in behavior, so too were medieval sculpted portals, and nowhere is this more clear than at Strasbourg, Basel, Freiburg, and Worms where the sculptors and patrons used clever iconographies and arrangements to chisel morals into stone for audiences of all levels of sophistication and from all walks of life. And as an integral part of medieval life, these sculpted portals had the potential to address

viewers on a daily and recurring basis, maximizing the effectiveness of their moral messages. For these viewers, seeing was not only believing, it was a constant reminder about behavior as well.

Figures
(All photographs, unless otherwise noted, by the author.)

Figure 1: Illustration by Heinrich Hoffmann, *The Story of Little Suck-a-Thumb* (photo: Heinrich Hoffmann, *Struwwelpeter: Merry Stories and Funny Pictures* (1848), Project Gutenberg, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12116/12116-h/12116-h.htm).

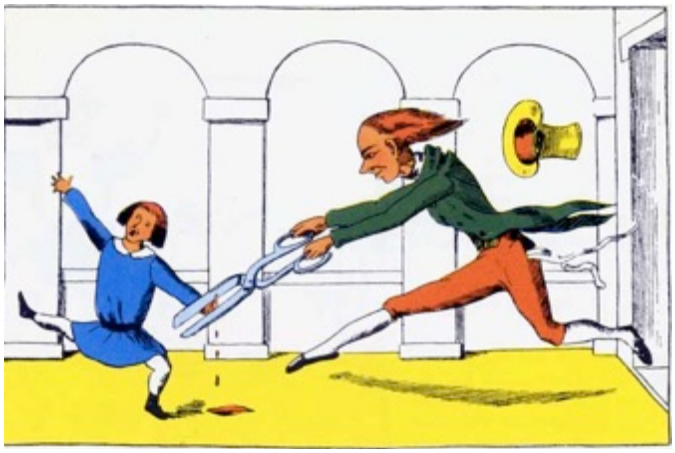

Figure 2: Illustration by Heinrich Hoffman, *The Story of Little Suck-a-Thumb* (photo: Heinrich Hoffmann, *Struwwelpeter: Merry Stories and Funny Pictures* (1848), Project Gutenberg, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12116/12116-h/12116-h.htm).

Figure 3: Frau Welt, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 4: Backside of Frau Welt, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 5: The Fürst der Welt, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg, inv. 66. Originally from Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 6: Backside of the Fürst der Welt, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg, inv. 66. Originally from Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 7: The Fürst der Welt, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 63).

Figure 8: Backside of the Fürst der Welt, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 12).

Figure 9: The Fürst der Welt, interior porch, west facade, Freiburg minster (photo: Spath, *Das Tor zum Leben: Die Hauptportalhalle des Freiburger Münsters*, 2005, p. 40).

Figure 10: Cast of backside of the Fürst der Welt, Münsterbauhütte, Freiburg.

Figure 11: The Fürst der Welt, interior wall leading out to the *Brautportal*, St. Sebaldus, Nuremberg.

Figure 12: Backside of the Fürst der Welt, interior wall leading out to the *Brautportal*, St. Sebaldus, Nuremberg.

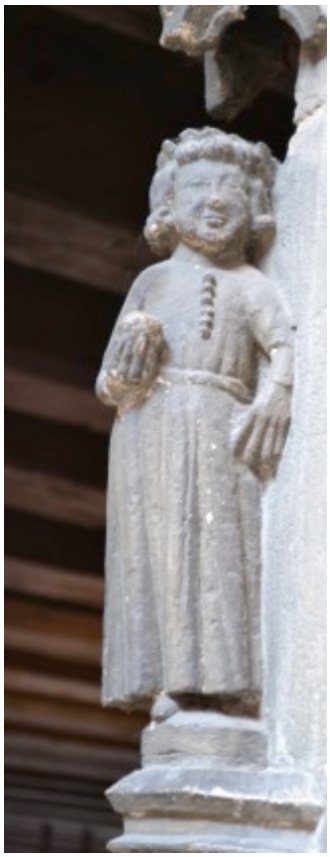

Figure 13: The Fürst der Welt, Haus Heuport, Regensburg.

Figure 14: Backside of the Fürst der Welt, Haus Heuport, Regensburg.

Figure 15: The Fürst der Welt, the Carmelite cloister, Bamberg.

Figure 16: Drawing of the Fürst der Welt, the Carmelite cloister, Bamberg (photo: Borutscheff, *Der Karmeliten-Kreuzgang in Bamberg,* 1988, p. 70).

Figure 17: Map of the Upper Rhine in the Middle Ages (Erzbischöflichen Ordinariat, ed., *Das Erzbistum Freiburg 1827-1977*, 1977, p. 13).

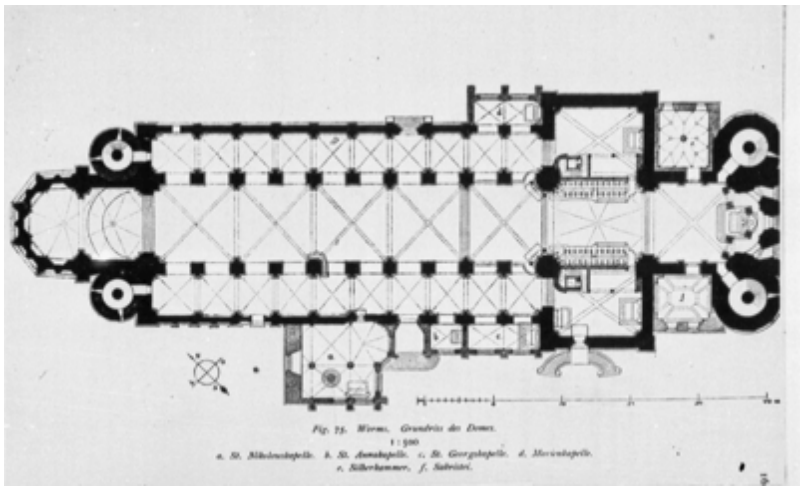

Figure 18: Plan of Worms cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 19: South facade, Worms cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 20: South portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 21: Coronation of the Virgin, tympanum, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 22: Old Testament figures, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 23: Four Evangelists, south portal, Worms cathedral.


Figure 24: Archivolts and gable, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 25: John the Baptist, angel, unidentified bishop, exterior wall of Nikolauskapelle, south facade, Worms cathedral.

Figure 26: Virgin and Child, exterior wall of Nikolauskapelle, south facade, Worms cathedral.

Figure 27: Saint Catherine of Alexandria, exterior wall of Nikolauskapelle, south facade, Worms cathedral.

Figure 28: Four female allegories, exterior wall of Annenkapelle, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 29: Charity and Faith, exterior wall of Annenkapelle, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 30: Synagoga and Frau Welt, exterior wall of Annenkapelle, south portal, Worms cathedral.

Figure 31: Detail of knight accompanying Frau Welt, exterior wall of Annenkapelle, south portal, Worms cathedral.

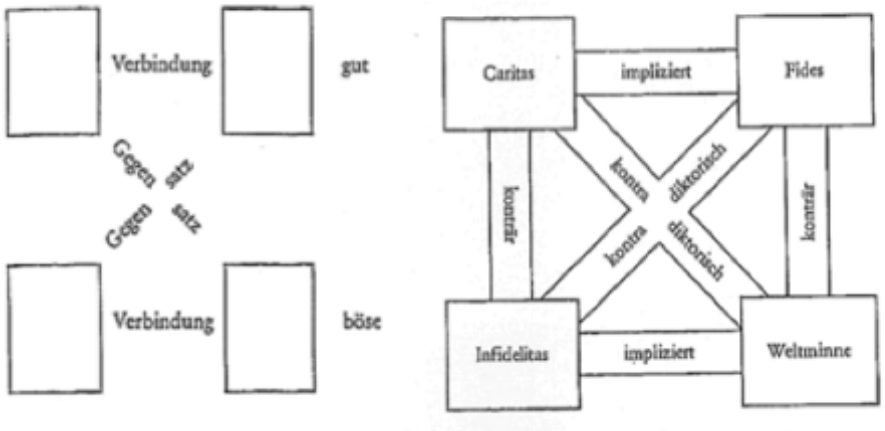

Figure 32: Spatial relationship of female allegories (Bleck, "Zur Deutung der vier allegorischen Skulpturen am Südportal des Wormser Doms," 1982-1986, p. 123).

Figure 33: Frau Welt in Mettener Armenbibel (Biblia pauperum) MS clm. 8201, fol. 95r, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (photo: http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&lv=1&bandnummer=bsb00040329&pimage=00003&l=de).

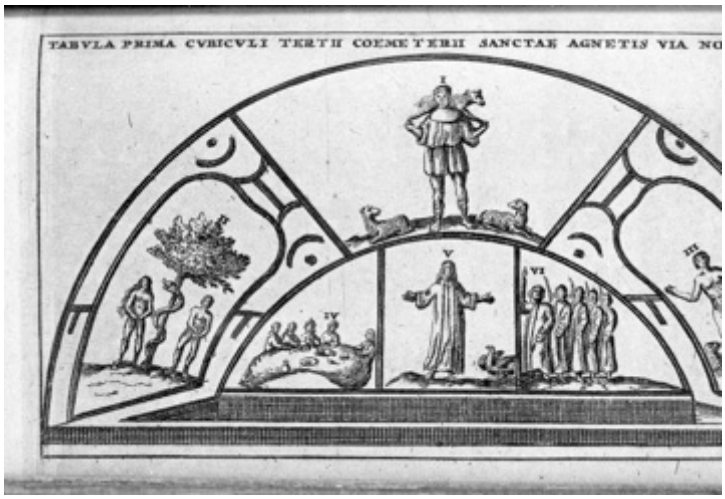

Figure 34: Drawing of Coemeterium Ostrianum, Johann Friedrich Haagen, *Unterirdisches Rom: Darinn der Christen und fürnemlich der Märterer uralte Gottesäkker oder Begräbniß-Plätze* (1668), fig. 38 (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 35: Catacombs of Saint Cyriaca, Saint Lawrence Outside the Walls, Rome (photo: Körkel-Hinkfoth, *Die Parabel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen (Mt. 25, 1-13) in der bildenden Kunst und im geistlichen Schauspiel*, 1994, fig. 42).

Figure 36: Archivolts, central portal of west facade, Saint-Pierre, Aulnay (photo: Artstor).

Figure 37: Detail of Wise and Foolish Virgins, archivolts, central portal of west facade, Saint-Pierre, Aulnay (photo: Artstor).

Figure 38: West facade, Saint-Denis (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 39: Central portal, west facade, Saint-Denis.

Figure 40: Wise Virgins, left doorposts, cental portal, west facade, Saint-Denis.

Figure 41: Foolish Virgins, right doorposts, central portal, west facade, Saint-Denis.

Figure 42: Galluspforte, north transept portal, Basel cathedral.

Figure 43: Christ Enthroned and the Wise and Foolish Virgins, tympanum and lintel, Galluspforte, Basel cathedral.

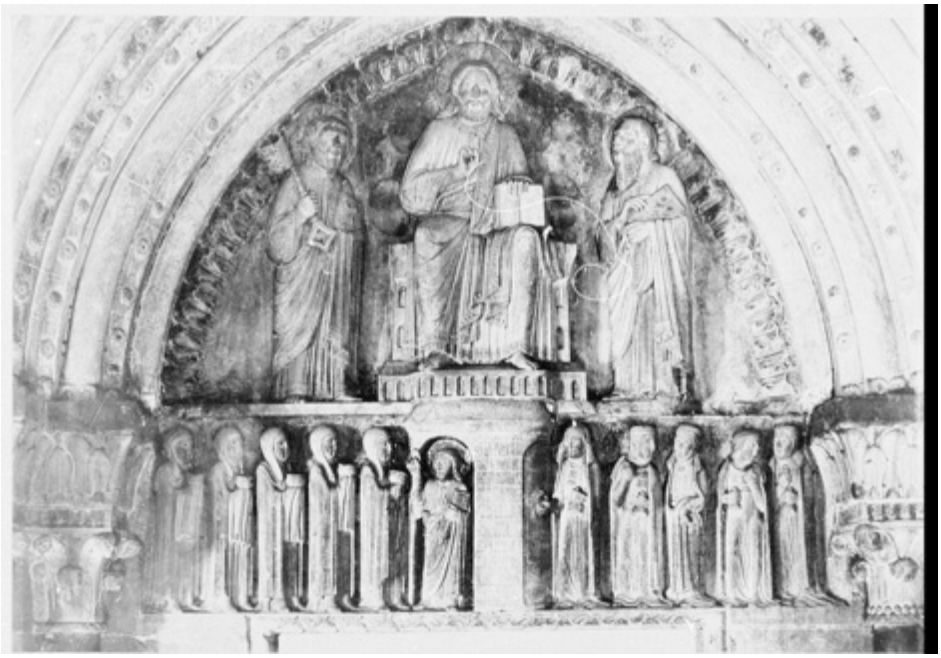

Figure 44: Christ Enthroned and the Wise and Foolish Virgins, tympanum and lintel, former west portal, Saints-Pierre-et-Paul, Eguisheim (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

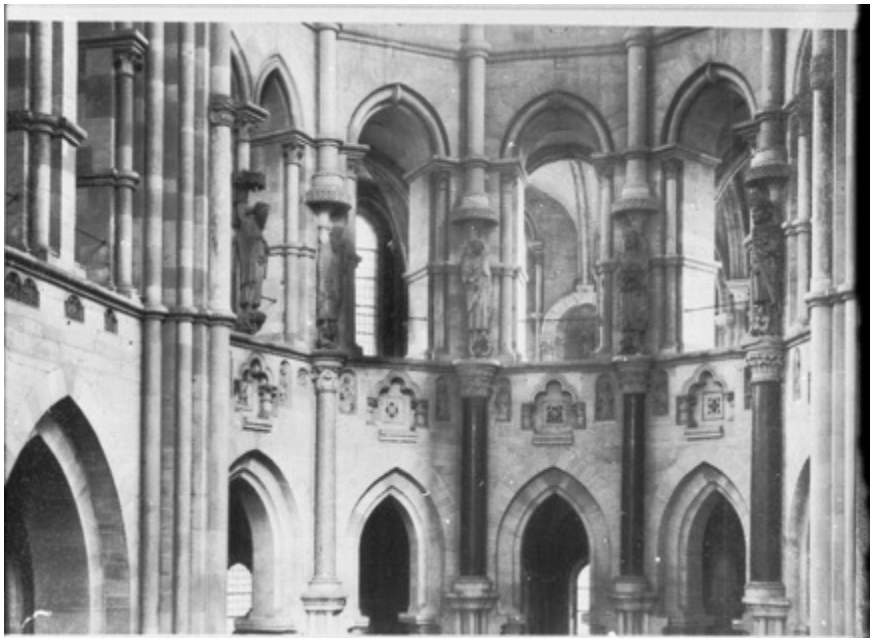

Figure 45: East choir, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 46: Wise Virgin, east choir, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 47: Foolish Virgin, east choir, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 48: North transept portal, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 49: Wise Virgins, left jambs, north transept portal, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 50: Foolish Virgins, right jambs, north transept portal, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 51: Detail of a Wise Virgin, left jambs, north transept portal, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 52: Detail of a Foolish Virgin, right jambs, north transept portal, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 53: Virgin Mary raised into heaven, tympanum, north transept portal, Magdeburg cathedral (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

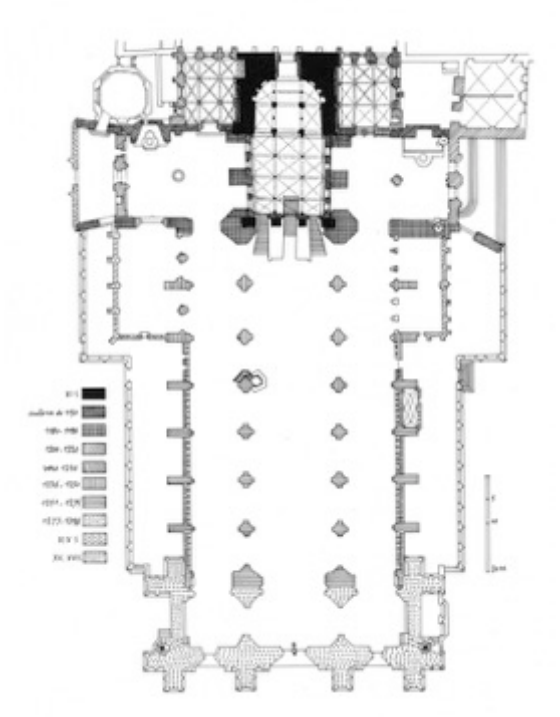

Figure 54: Plan of Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 55: Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 56: South transept portal, Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 57: Angel Pillar, interior south transept, Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 58: West facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 59: Central portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 60: Left portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 61: Right portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 62: Tympanum, left portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral. (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 63: Tympanum, central portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

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Figure 65: Virtues and Vices, left jambs, left portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 66: Virtues and Vices, right jambs, left portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 67: Prophets, left jambs, central portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

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Figure 69: The Fürst der Welt and Foolish Virgins, left jambs, right portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 70: Foolish Virgins, left buttress, right portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 71: Christ and Wise Virgins, right jambs, right portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 72: Wise Virgins, right buttress, right portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 73: The Fürst der Welt and a Foolish Virgin, left jambs, right portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 74: Detail of the backside of the Fürst der Welt. Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg. Originally from Strasbourg cathedral.

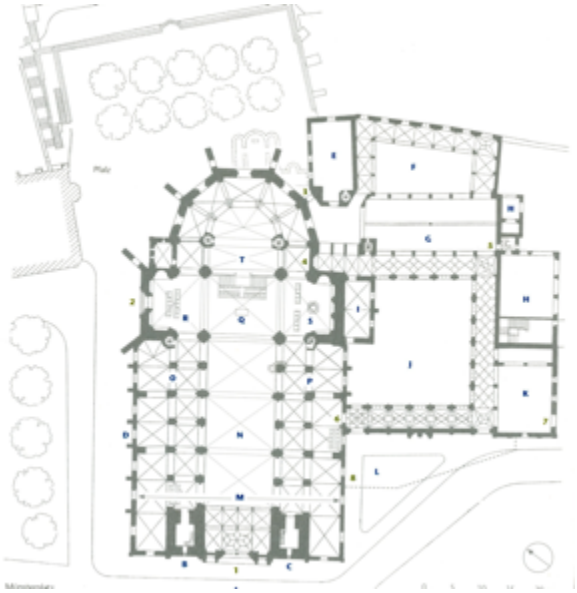

Figure 75: Plan of Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 19).

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Figure 77: Portal, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 1).

Figure 78: Archivolts, portal, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 9).

Figure 79: Empress Kunigunde and Emperor Henry II, portal, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 11).

Figure 80: The Fürst der Welt and a Foolish Virgin, portal, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 63).

Figure 81: Fragment of Virgin and Child (?), Historisches Museum Basel, inv. 1989.9 (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 105).

Figure 82: Fragment of an angel (?), Museum Kleines Klingental, inv. 11943 (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 103).

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Figure 84: Digital reconstruction of the original Gothic portal, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 60).

Figure 85: Digital reconstruction of the original Gothic portal, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 61).

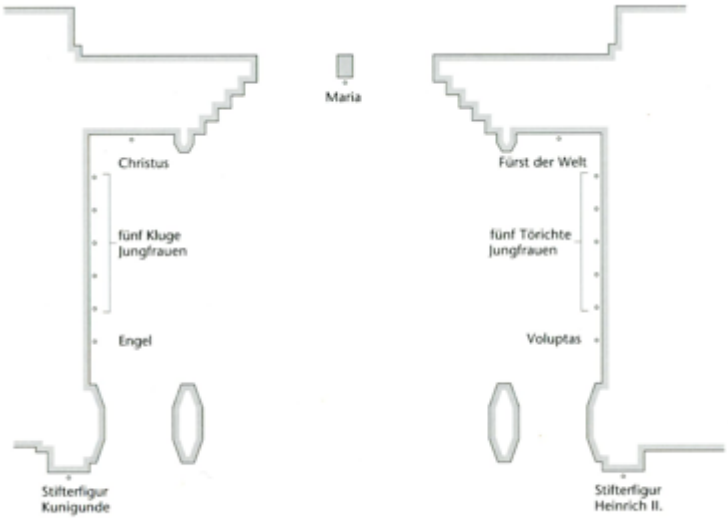


Figure 86: Layout of sculpture from original Gothic portal, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 93).

Figure 87: Detail of the Fürst der Welt, portal, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 101).

Figure 88: Detail of the backside of the Fürst der Welt, portal, west facade, Basel cathedral.

Figure 89: Detail of the backside of the Fürst der Welt, portal, west facade, Basel cathedral.

Figure 90: Detail of the Foolish Virgin, portal, west facade, Basel cathedral (photo: Meier and Schürmann, ed., *Himmelstür: Das Hauptportal des Basler Münsters*, 2011, fig. 102).

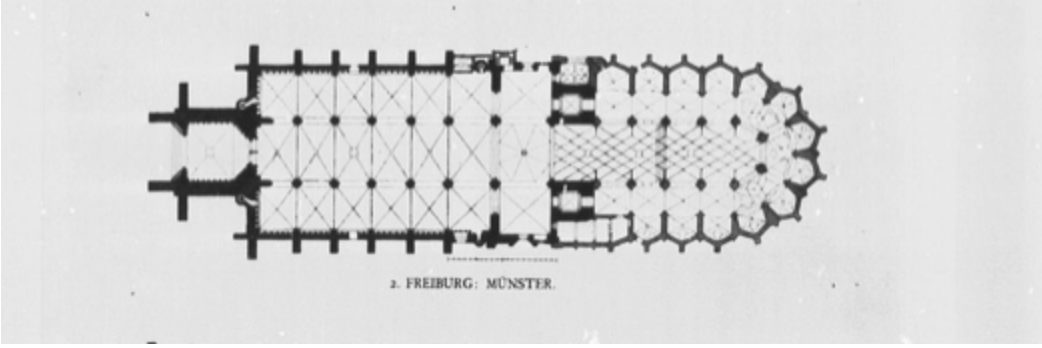


Figure 91: Plan of Freiburg minster (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).


Figure 92: West facade, Freiburg minster.

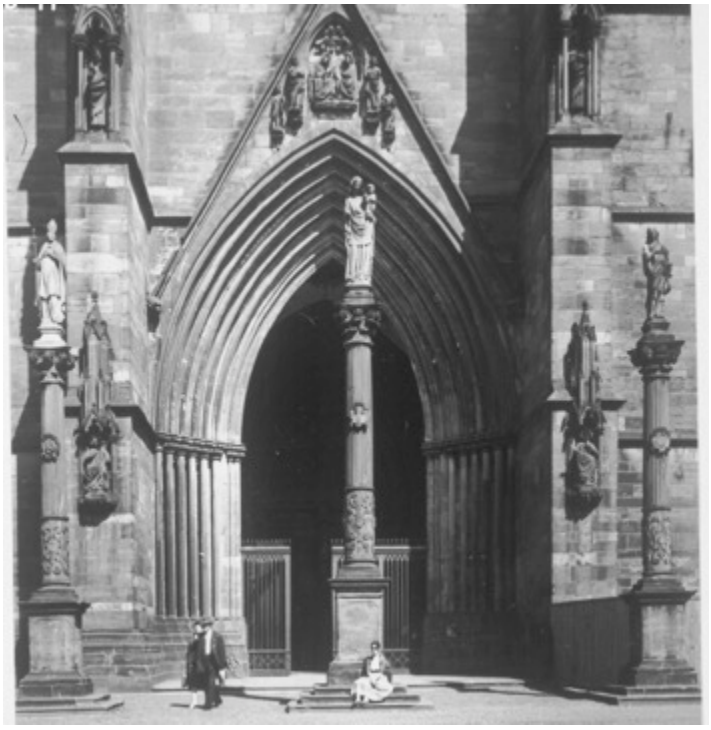


Figure 93: Porch, west facade, Freiburg minster (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 94: Gable, porch, west facade, Freiburg minster (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

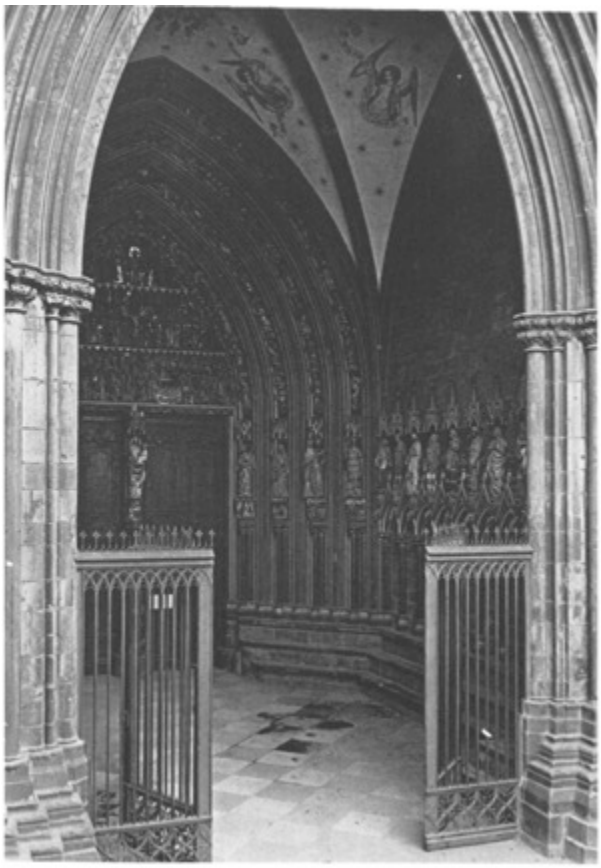
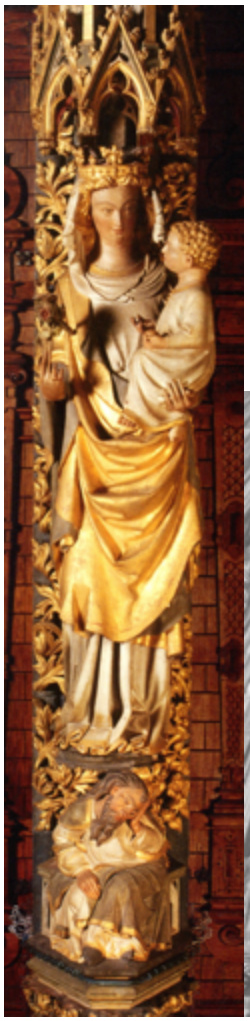


Figure 95: Porch, west facade, Freiburg minster (photo: Hubel, “Das ursprüngliche Programm der Skulpturen in der Vorhalle des Freiburger Münsters,” 1974, fig. 1).

Figure 96: Portal, west facade, Freiburg minster.



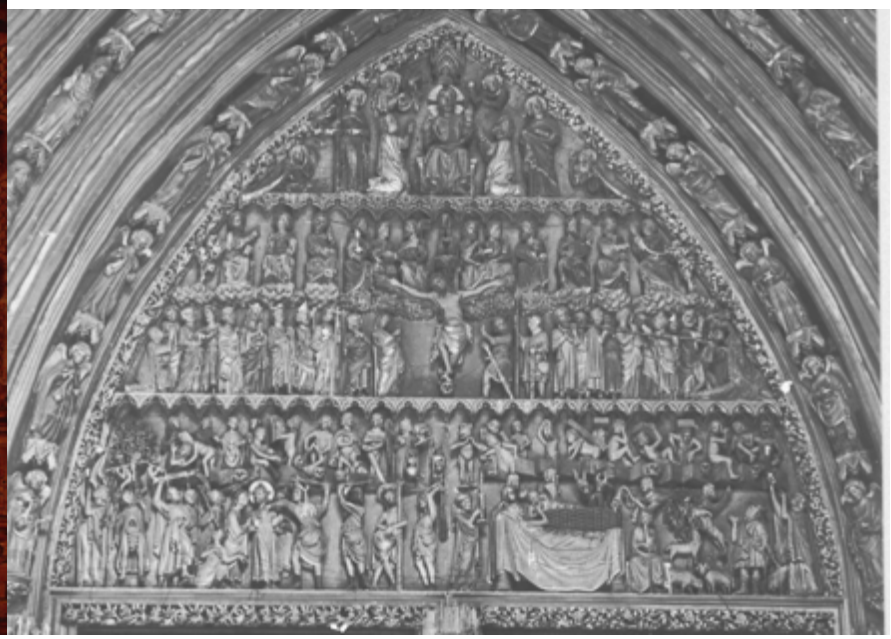


Figure 97: Virgin and Child, trumeau, portal, west facade, Freiburg minster (photo: Spath, *Das Tor zum Leben: Die Hauptportalhalle des Freiburger Münsters*, 2005, p. 17).

Figure 98: Tympanum, portal, west facade, Freiburg minster (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

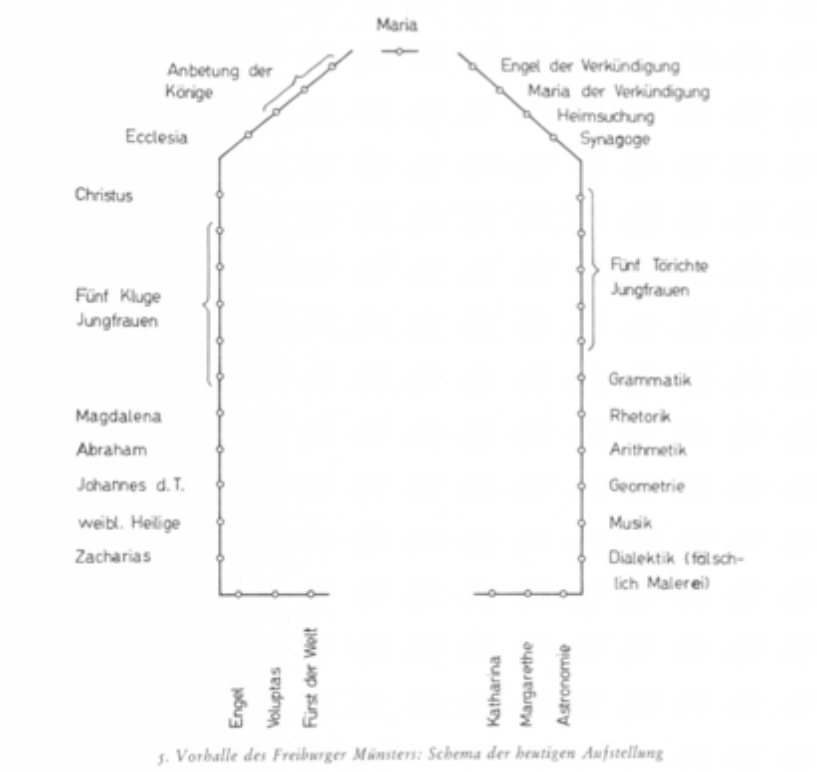


Figure 99: Layout of current sculpture from portal and porch, Freiburg minster (photo: Hubel, "Das ursprüngliche Programm der Skulpturen in der Vorhalle des Freiburger Münsters," 1974, fig. 5).

Figure 100: Ecclesia and the Three Magi, left jambs, portal, west facade, Freiburg minster.

Figure 101: The Annunciation, the Visitation, Synagoga, right jambs, portal, west facade, Freiburg minster.

Figure 102: Interior north wall of porch, west facade, Freiburg minster.

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Figure 104: Interior south wall of porch, west facade, Freiburg minster.

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Figure 106: Layout of original sculpture from portal and porch, Freiburg minster (photo: Hubel, "Das ursprüngliche Programm der Skulpturen in der Vorhalle des Freiburger Münsters," 1974, fig. 10).

Figure 107: Angel, console on interior west wall of porch, west facade, Freiburg minster (photo: Spath, *Das Tor zum Leben: Die Hauptportalhalle des Freiburger Münsters*, 2005, p. 38).

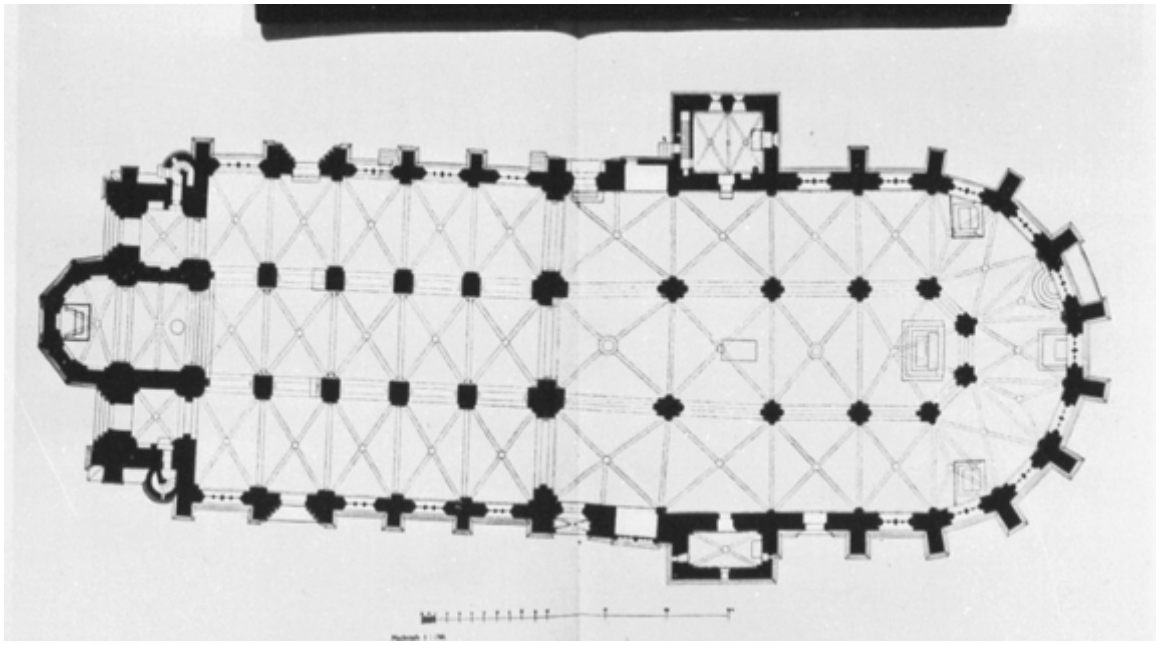
Figure 108: Plan of St. Sebaldus, Nuremberg (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 109: St. Sebaldus, Nuremberg (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 110: North wall, St. Sebaldus, Nuremberg.

Figure 111: Brautportal, north wall, St. Sebaldus, Nuremberg.

Figure 112: Wise Virgins, left jambs, Brautportal, north wall, St. Sebaldus, Nuremberg.

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Figure 115: Haus Heuport, Regensburg.

Figure 116: Stairwell, Haus Heuport, Regensburg.

Figure 117: The Fürst der Welt and a Foolish Virgin, stairwell, Haus Heuport, Regensburg.

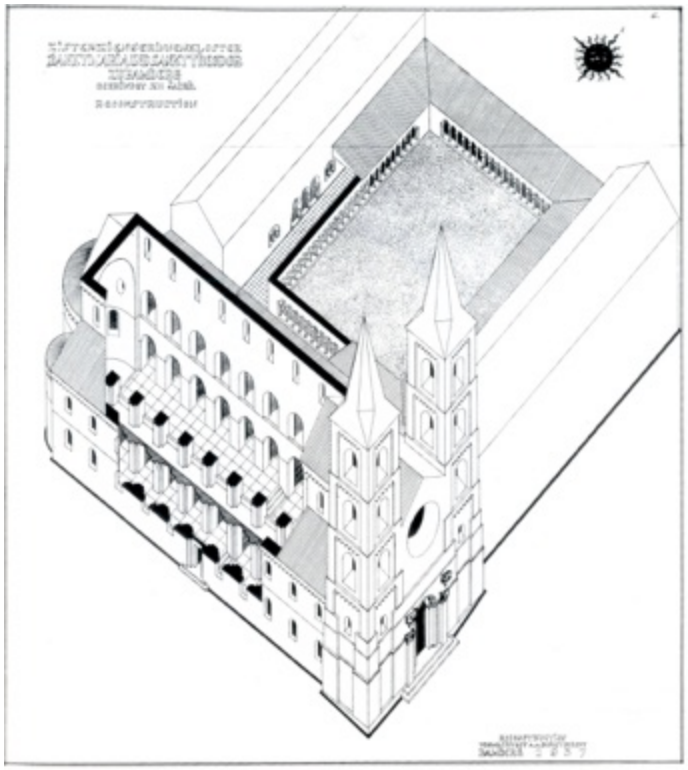

Figure 118: Plan of St. Marien und Theodor and cloister, Bamberg (photo: Borutscheff, *Der Karmeliten-Kreuzgang in Bamberg*, 1988, p. 13).

Figure 119: Carmelite cloister, Bamberg.

Figure 120: Capital, Carmelite cloister, Bamberg.

Figure 121: Phyllis riding Aristotle, Carmelite cloister, Bamberg.

Figure 122: Christ with angels (top) and three Foolish Virgins (below), Carmelite cloister, Bamberg.

Figure 123. “Frau Welt”, Carmelite cloister, Bamberg (Borutscheff, *Der Karmeliten-Kreuzgang in Bamberg*, 1988, p. 99).

Figure 124: Map of Dominican Convents Founded before 1250 (Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, 1977, map 2).

Figure 125: Map of Dominican and Franciscan Convents Founded after 1250 (Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, 1977, map 3).

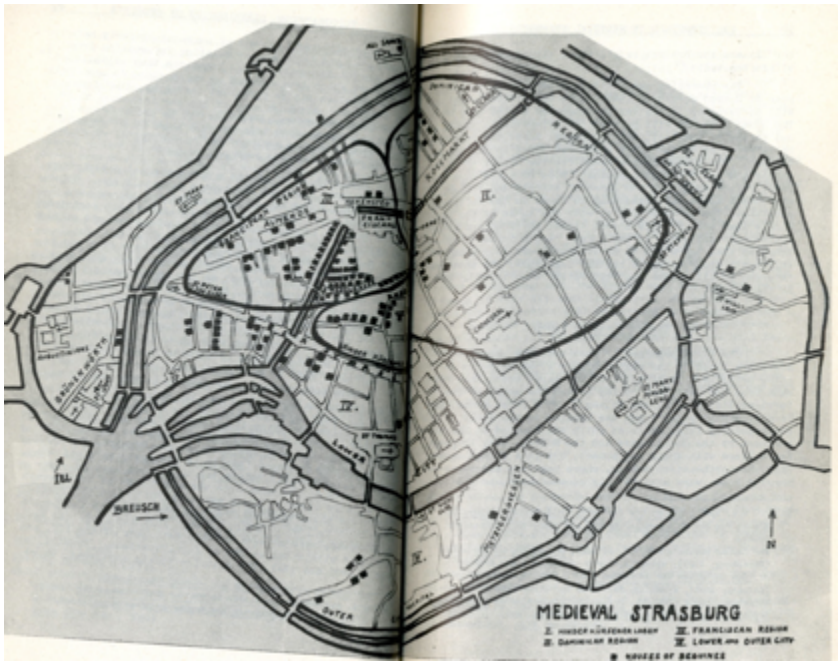

Figure 126: Map of medieval Strasbourg (Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life*, 1941, map 1).

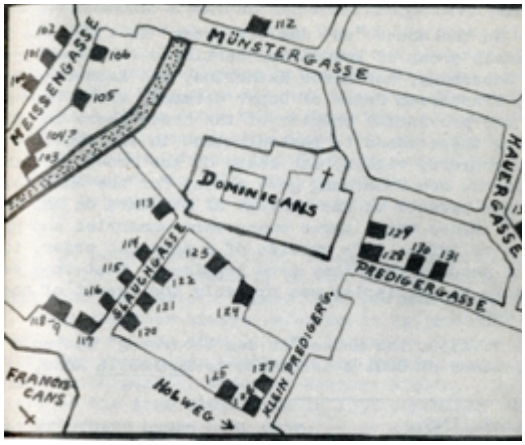

Figure 127: Map of the vicinity of the Dominican convent in medieval Strasbourg (Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life*, 1941, map 3).

Figure 128: Map of the vicinity of the Franciscan convent in medieval Strasbourg (Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life*, 1941, map 5).

Figure 129: North and west view of St. Cyriakus, Gernrode (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 130: Portal, south facade, Saint-Pierre, Moissac (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 131: Portal, west facade, Sainte-Foy, Conques (photo: Artstor).

Figure 132: Schottenportal, St. Jakob, Regensburg (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 133: West facade, Saint-Denis (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 134: Lost jamb figures, left jambs, central portal, west facade, Saint-Denis. Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les monumens de la monarchie françoise,* 1 (1729), pl. 16 (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 19: Right portal, west facade, Saint-Denis (photo: http://mappinggothic.org/building/1182#image/48528).

Figure 136: Left portal, west facade, Saint-Denis (photo: http://mappinggothic.org/building/1182#image/48534).

Figure 137: West facade, Chartres cathedral (Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 138: North transept portal, Chartres cathedral (photo: Artstor).

Figure 139: South transept portal, Chartres cathedral (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 140: West facade, Reims cathedral.

Figure 141: West facade, Amiens cathedral.

Figure 142: Central portal, west facade, Amiens cathedral.

Figure 143: Right portal, west facade, Amiens cathedral.

Figure 144: Left portal, west facade, Amiens cathedral.

Figure 145: Tympanum, west facade, Saints-Pierre-et-Paul, Sigolsheim (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 146: Tympanum, south portal, Saint-Richardis, Marlenheim (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 147: Tympanum, west portal, Saints-Pierre-et-Paul, Andlau (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 148: South transept portal, Strasbourg cathedral.

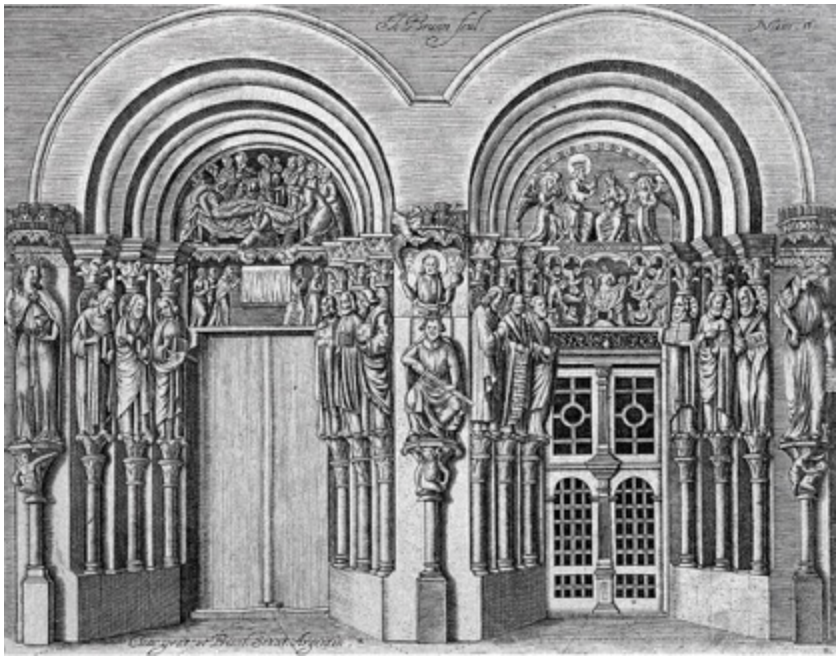

Figure 149: Isaac Brunn, engraving of south transept portal, Strasbourg cathedral, ca. 1617 (Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 150: Adamspforte, east choir, Bamberg cathedral.

Figure 151: Gnadenpforte, east choir, Bamberg cathedral.

Figure 152: Fürstenportal, north wall, Bamberg cathedral.

Figure 153: The Flagellation of Christ, detail from tympanum, central portal, Strasbourg cathedral.

Figure 154: Man of Sorrows, Unterlinden-Museum, Colmar (photo: Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen*, 2008, fig. 62).

Figure 155: The Flagellation of Christ, Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, inv. E 508 (photo: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart).

Figure 156: The Descent from the Cross, detail from tympanum, central portal, west facade, Strasbourg cathedral (photo: Boerner, *Bildwirkungen: Die kommunikative Funktion mittelalterlicher Skulpturen*, 2008, fig. 79).

Figure 157: The Flagellation of Christ, detail from tympanum, portal, Freiburg minster (photo: Spath, *Das Tor zum Leben: Die Hauptportalhalle des Freiburger Münsters*, 2005, p. 169).

Figure 158: Portal, west facade, Saint-Florent, Niederhaslach (photo: Joan A. Holladay).

Figure 159: Portal, west facade, Saint-Martin, Colmar (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Figure 160: Portal, south transept, Saint-Martin, Colmar (photo: Joan A. Holladay).

Figure 161: Portal, west facade, Saint-Thiébaut, Thann (photo: Joan A. Holladay).

Figure 162: Tympanum, left portal, south facade, Ulm minster (photo: Pinkus, *Patrons and Narratives of the Parler School: The Marian Tympana 1350-1400*, 2009, fig. 35).

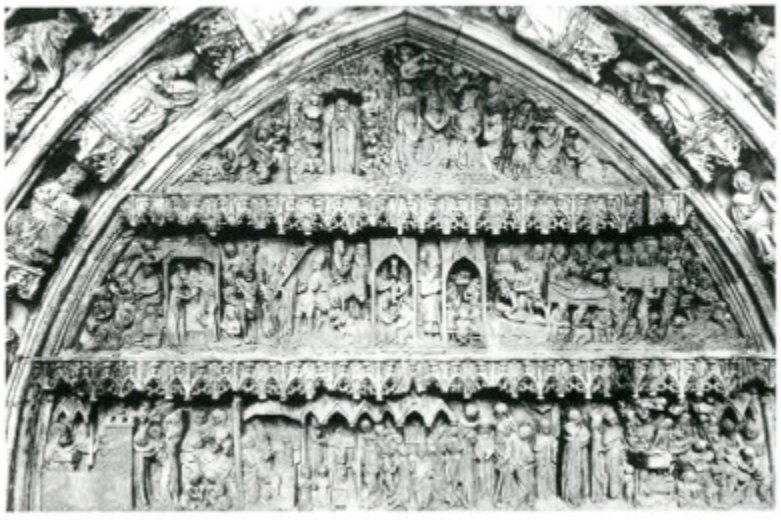

Figure 163: Tympanum, portal, south choir, Augsburg cathedral (photo: Pinkus, *Patrons and Narratives of the Parler School: The Marian Tympana 1350-1400*, 2009, fig. 47).

Figure 164: West facade, Regensburg cathedral.

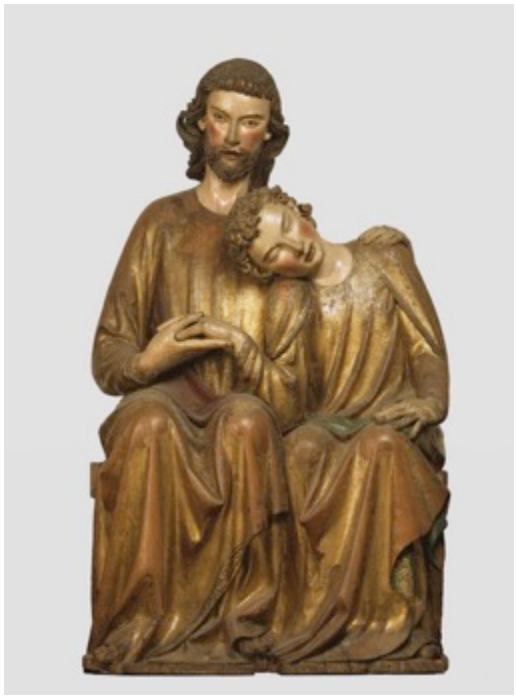

Figure 165: Christ and Saint John ensemble, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, inv. MMB.0224 (photo: Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp).

Figure 166: Visitation, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 17.190.724 (photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Figure 167: Nun receiving a mystical vision, *La Sainte Abbaye,* MS Yates Thompson 11, British Library, London (photo: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=45156).

Figure 168: Virtues and Vices, socle reliefs, central portal, west facade, Notre-Dame, Paris (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 169: The Bridal Couple, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 1932.179 (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 170: The Dead Lovers, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg, inv. mba 1442 (photo: Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame, Strasbourg, M. Bertola).

Figure 171: Tomb of François de la Sarra, former St. Antoine Chapel, La Sarraz (photo: Digital Archive Services, University of Texas at Austin).

Figure 172: Lady Venus, Sebastian Brandt, *Ship of Fools*, 1494 (photo: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/20179/20179-h/20179-h.htm).

Figure 173: Hans Brosamer, *A Whore Venerated by a Fool*, ca. 1530, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, inv. 2447 (photo: Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig).

Figure 174: Spinner, woodcut, c. 1520, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Schmidt, "Memento Mori: The Deadly Art of Interaction," in *Push Me Pull You: Physical and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, vol. 2, fig. 9.3).

Appendix I: "The Reward of the World" by Konrad von Würzburg
(Francis G. Gentry, *German Medieval Tales* (New York: Continum, 1983), 114-117.)

Lovers of the world hear this tale how a knight who strove after the world's reward from morning until night achieved success! Often he thought about just what he could do in order to attain the reward of worldly honor and he knew well how to increase his praise in many places through deeds and words. He was so accomplished he was held to be among the best in all the German lands. He had kept himself from disgrace all the years of his life; he was courteous and well-bred, handsome and virtuous. Whatever a man should have in the world in order to pursue the highest praise, the wise nobleman knew how to get. This excellent man was often seen wearing the finest of garments. Further, he was greatly skilled and often engaged in the stalking of game, falconry, and the case. The chessboard and the lyre were his recreation. If the path to chivalric combat were shown to him – even more than one hundred miles away! – the nobleman would have ridden there courageously and resolutely and would have fought there gladly in hope of precious love's reward. He was so devoted to the ladies – who were of good manner – and served them with such longlasting constancy throughout all his years that all blissful women commended and praised this delightful man. As the books instruct and I have found written of him, he was called Sir Wirnt of Gravenberg. He had performed worldly deeds all his life and his heart passionately desired love, both secret and open.

Thus the celebrated man sat in a chamber well provided with amusements and held a book in his hand, wherein he found a tale written about love. With it he passed the day until vespers and his delight with the sweet story he was reading was very great. As he was sitting thus, there came to him a woman after his heart's desire and adorned to perfection according to his own ideal, so lovely in appearance that never was seen a more beautiful woman. Her beauty set her completely apart from all the ladies there are now. Indeed, a more lovely child never gilded from woman's breast. I swear by my baptism that she was far more beautiful that Venus or Pallas and all the goddesses who cultivated love before. Both her countenance and her complexion were gleaming like a mirror. Her beauty gave forth such a bright light and delightful glow that the palace itself was illuminated by her. Perfection has spared none of its craft and had used it best powers on her. Whatever one says about beautiful women, she surpassed all; there was never a lovelier woman beheld on earth. She also was attired in a great splendor. The clothes and crown this same fine lady wore upon and above her body was so glorious that truly no one could afford them, even if one would find them for sale.

Sir Wirnt of Gravenberg drew back from her in awe – probably twice! – as she came stealing in. His complexion grew very pale upon her arrival. He wondered greatly why the lady had come. Up jumped the amiable man frightened and pale and he received the beautiful one very graciously, as he well knew how to do. He spoke pleasantly, "Be most welcome, lady!" As much as I have seen of ladies, you surpass them all completely." The lady answered courteously, "Dear friend, may God reward you! Be not so afraid of me, for I am the very same lady whom you served for a long while and

whom you still serve willingly. Even though you stand before me terrified, I am yet the very same women for whom you have often risked body and soul. Because you heart has joy on account of me, it does not grow weary. You have been courtly and noble all your years; your worthy body, sweet and without fault, has fought for me and has told and sung whatever good it knows of me. You have always been my vassal, both morning and night, and you always knew how to strive for the highest commendation and worthy praise. You blossom like a sprig of May in many and varied virtues. Since childhood you have borne the garland of honor and you have always been constant and true in your loyalty to me. Thus, most noble and worthy knight I have come here so you may view to your heart's content my body of excellent quality both front and back and see how beautiful I am, how perfect. You will see the high reward and rich prize you can receive from me for your noble service and you will consider it. I have been so well served by you that I will gladly let you ponder what reward shall be your due." The noble lord wondered greatly about the woman's words. For the youth had never before seen her with his eyes and yet the lady had said he was her devoted vassal. He said, "If you please, my lady. If I have served you, I am, upon my oath, not aware of it. Indeed, I do not believe I have ever seen you before. But since you with, good woman, to declare me your vassal, my heart and body are ready to serve you with willing travail as long as I live. You have such grace and virtue that your joy-bringing youth can reward me very well. Lucky me that I have lived this day! For that reason I rejoice that you, O lovely lady, are of a mind to accept my service. Most virtuous lady, pray tell me by the joyful fortune that is in you, O beautiful one, what your name is or by what manner are you known. Let your name and your land be revealed to me here so that I may then know with certainty whether I have ever heard tell of you."

Speaking most courteously, the lady replied, "Dear friend, it shall be done. I will gladly tell you my name so highly praised. You need never been ashamed that you are subject to me. I am served by whomever on Earth is of wealthy and property. I am of such exalted spirit that emperor and king's son are under my dominion. Counts, freeborn, and dukes have knelt before me and followed all my commands. I fear no one but God, for He has power over me. I am called the World whom you have desired for so long. Reward will be granted to you as I will now show you. Thus am I come to you so that you may see me."

Then she turned her back to him. On all sides it was completely adorned and hung with worms and with snakes, with toads and with vipers. Her body was full of blisters and horrible sores; flies and ants dwelled therein in great numbers and the maggots ate her flesh to the bone. She was so very foul and so abhorrent a stench came forth from her frail body that no one could stand it. Her glorious dress of silk looked very poor; it had become transformed into a shabby rag. Her merry, delightful complexion had become piteous in color, as pale as ashes.

Thus she departed from there. May she be cursed by me and by all Christendom! When the noble and free knight considered this wonder, his heart told him at once that he who wished to render her service would be wholly damned. He parted forthwith from wife and children. He took up the cross on his garments, set out over the wild sea, and

aided God's noble army in its struggle against the heathen. There the excellent knight was found in constant penance. He did this at all times until he died in body so his soul would find joy beyond.

Now all you children of this wild world, take heed of this true tale. For it is so true that one ought to listen to it gladly. The world's reward is full of sorrow – this you have all learned. I now come to the end: whoever is found in her service will be denied the joy which God – with full constancy – has prepared for the chosen.

I, Konrad of Würzburg, give this advice to all: Abandon the world, if you want to save your soul!

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